

THE SCOTTISH REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF THE
INDEPENDENCE OF SCOTLAND.

Volume 41

Autumn, 1918

Part 91

EDITOR RUARAIÐH ARASCAIN IS MHAIR.

Contents

The Foundations of National Self-determination.

The Housing Scandal. By William Dick.

Scottish Labour Aims.

The Celt in Scotland. By H. C. MacNesall.

The Auld House. By Uilleann Laing.

Prìomh-Riaghailtean do na Ceiltich. Le A. M. E.

Chronicles of the Quarters.

Correspondence.

Perth.

Milne, Tannahill, & Methven, 12-14 Mill Street.

Edinburgh: 74 George Street.



The Scottish Review

AUTUMN, 1918.

The Foundations of National Self-determination



UIZOT remarks somewhere that perhaps never were the natural course of things, and the hidden ways of Providence, less understood than they were by his own times. Probably, a similar reflexion has been visited by many upon the days in which we ourselves live. However that may be, there is certainly abroad a strange inability on the part of thousands to read the more weighty and impressive of the multitudinous signs of the times in a spirit of understanding, drawn from a knowledge of the radical facts of European history. The doctrine to which the Allied Powers have pinned their faith, that the consent of the governed is necessary to the governors, has called forth volumes of polemics, the greatest part of which is valueless, save as a proof of the crass ignorance of multitudes. The decay of learning (brought about by the Capitalist régime) among the mass of the people

The Scottish Review

would appear to have been profound enough to obliterate all knowledge and all recollection of the learned collections of the great doctors of political science. The oldest principles of the art of governance are nowadays discussed as though they owed their existence to the innovating genius of modern empirical Statesmanship, and bear no relationship whatever to the speculations and researches of dead and gone jurists of imperishable memory. Thus, the Russian doctrine of "National Self-determination" is generally supposed to be due to the innovating zeal of the destroyers of the empire. Even some of Mr. Wilson's most obvious platitudes have been received with all the ceremony commonly accorded the inspirations of genius. Excuse and apologise how we may, political heats cannot be regarded as sufficient to explain away the balderdash that has been recently written and uttered about Ireland; crass, and, under the circumstances, criminal, ignorance of the principles of political science is its main source, if not its only one.

Hear what Bellarmine says touching the right of society to appoint the form of government which its members think proper:—"Particular forms of government (he says) are by the law of nations, and not by divine law, and it depends upon the consent of the multitude to place over themselves a King, Consuls, or other Magistrates, as is clear; for a legitimate reason they can change royalty into aristocracy, or into democracy, *vice versa*, as it was done in Rome."

The following, from the same author, touches political society, and the power inherent in that form of society. "God wills not (he says) that you should

National Self-determination

live like wild beasts : He commands you to be united in society ; and for this purpose He orders you to live in submission to an authority legitimately established." "In the second place, observe that this power (civil) resides *immediately*, as in its subject, in all the multitude, for it is by divine right. The divine right has not given this power to any man in particular, for it has given it to the multitude ; besides, the positive law being taken away, there is no reason why one should rule rather than another, among a great number of equal men ; therefore, power belongs to the whole multitude."

These doctrines, to which, besides Bellarmine, Suarez, Molina, Grotius, Mariana, and many other jurists of note subscribed, lie at the root of the principle of National Self-determination. Political power resides in the multitude ; and the consent of the governed is necessary to the governors. Moreover, it was laid down of old time, and should be reaffirmed now, that legitimacy is necessary unto government. The robber who has stolen has no right to the thing stolen, either now or at any future period of his existence. Similarly, a power that has usurped on another has no right to the obedience of the people on whom it has usurped, either now or at any future period of its existence.

This is the Democratic faith which, except a man believe, he is in danger of the judgment of his fellow men.



The Housing Scandal



COTLAND'S housing problem is becoming every year more acute. Even before the war it had become impossible even for smug, self-satisfied politicians longer to gloss over the grave scandal of inadequate and often insanitary housing accommodation. Under the rule of the land-owner and the speculative builder, the conditions under which hundreds and thousands of people were compelled to live were a disgrace and a reproach to Scotland. Social reformers directed attention by voice and pen to the menace to health and morals of the "congested areas" in our great industrial centres. The slum, the tenement, the miners' hovels, and the cottars' "but and ben" proclaimed the failure of private enterprise. All these evils have been accentuated by the collapse of private building as a result of the war conditions. The need for more houses has become urgent and imperative, but the tradesmen who should have built them are either engaged in grimmer work in the trenches, or are earning big war wages in the munition works.

The report of the Scottish Housing Commission is a damning indictment of the land-owner and the speculative builder, and of the apathy, indifference, and sheer incompetence of the Scottish M.P.'s at Westminster who have tolerated so long a disgraceful state of affairs. While it is perhaps true that the report contains little with which students of social

The Housing Scandal

problems were not tolerably familiar, it nevertheless sheds a flood of light on the conditions under which the working-classes of Scotland live, and directs attention in authoritative fashion to a series of problems which no Government and no political party can longer afford to ignore. Briefly summed up, the Commission has proclaimed to all the world that :—

Forty-five per cent.—nearly one half—of the population of Scotland live in houses where there is less than one room to each two persons.

That 47 per cent. of the population of Scotland live in houses of one and two rooms, while the corresponding figure for England is 7·1 per cent.

That over a million people are living in over-crowded conditions, and that nearly 700,000 persons will have to be provided with houses elsewhere.

That the provision of sanitary appliances, particularly in the rural and mining areas, is often shamefully inadequate.

That the barrack-like tenements which disfigure so many Scottish cities are highly objectionable. Life in a tenement generally leads to overcrowding and congestion, and in the worst types it is impossible to observe the ordinary decencies of life.

That the minimum requirement of new houses for Scotland is 235,990.

These are not, in every case, the precise words used by the Commissioners, but the brief summary I have given nevertheless indicates quite accurately the conclusions arrived at by the Commissioners after exhaustive inquiry and investigation covering the whole of Scotland. The provision of more houses and better

The Scottish Review

houses is thus a matter of urgent importance, and calls for immediate action on the part of the responsible authorities in Scotland. At the forthcoming General Election—which cannot now be long delayed—this vitally important problem ought to receive the attention of every aspiring M.P. It may be well, therefore, to examine in some detail certain aspects of housing reform brought prominently before the public by the revelations of the Royal Commission.

I have said that the number of new houses required in Scotland is estimated at 235,990; and the shortage is as acute in the rural and mining areas as in the large cities. There are in Scotland 83,577 houses uninhabitable owing to defects of structure. Of these, only 25,988 are repairable, leaving 57,589 houses quite unfit for human habitation. As a result of over-crowding and sub-letting, 55,761 more houses are placed on the black list, bringing the total up to 113,430. It ought to be added that the test of "inhabitability" by which these figures are arrived at is not a high one. It is based on the calculations of the Registrar-General, who assumes that a house is not over-crowded unless it has "more than three persons to each room." Such a standard is altogether inadequate, and the Commissioners are well within the mark in insisting that it should be adjusted to "more than two persons to the room." Further, a large proportion of two-roomed and three-roomed houses should be superseded by houses of three rooms, while in other cases it is necessary that they should be entirely rebuilt, even to attain a two-room standard of decency. On that basis, 114,560 more new houses are required, while the shortage in the rural districts is stated to be

The Housing Scandal

underestimated by about 8000. Adding together these figures—113,430, 114,560, and 8000—it will be seen that the number of new houses required in Scotland is 235,990.

But even these startling figures scarcely reveal the blackest side of the picture. On the Registrar-General's basis of "more than three to a room," 45,957 one-roomed houses, 82,778 two-roomed, 9213 three-roomed, and 427 four-roomed houses are over-crowded. Or, to put it another way, there are 283,564 persons living in seriously over-crowded conditions. If, however, the basis of over-crowding is put at "more than two persons per room" over a million people are living in Scotland to-day in over-crowded houses and tenements, and 695,842 persons will have to be provided with houses elsewhere.

Over a million people—25 per cent. of the population—living in Scotland to-day under conditions which make a healthy hygienic existence impossible! Such a lamentable state of congestion—of fetid, soul-destroying slums and rural hovels—is a disgrace to the Scottish nation, a standing monument to the neglect of national interest by our Scottish M.P.'s, and of the utter incapacity of a London Government to administer wisely and efficiently the affairs of Scotland.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the present shortage of houses in Scotland is not due solely or even mainly to war conditions. It is true that the war has seriously accentuated the difficulties. The normal requirements of the growing population of Scotland call for the provision of over 6000 houses every year. In addition to this it is necessary to erect new houses to take the places of those falling gradually into decay,

The Scottish Review

or closed or demolished for various reasons. The number of new houses required in Scotland every year may safely be put at 7000 to 7500. But while the demand for houses has been increasing daily, the building of such dwellings has ceased save in a few munition areas, at Rosyth, and at certain naval centres in the North of Scotland. In all other districts emergency legislation virtually prohibits the erection of workmen's dwellings. It is thus evident that the longer the war lasts, the greater will be the dearth of houses. At the same time the housing problem had become gravely acute long before the first shot in the world-war was fired. Even had there been no suspension of building operations as a result of the war, there would still have been a steadily increasing shortage which would in course of time have resulted in a serious house famine. For several years before the war the number of new buildings erected was scarcely 50 per cent. of the actual requirements. The following table* shows the number of houses built in the four principal towns in Scotland during the ten years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war—1904 to 1908 and 1909 to 1913 :—

	(1904 to 1908).	(1909 to 1913).
Glasgow, ...	7783	1772
Edinburgh, ...	1239	270
Dundee, ...	929	176
Aberdeen, ...	382	134
Total, ...	10333	2352

* For the figures in this Table I am indebted to an interesting little pamphlet on "Housing," by Mr. A. W. Skelton, F.A.I., a member of the Executive of the Housing and Town Planning Council.

The Housing Scandal

It will thus be seen that for several years before the war there had been a sharp slump in building, and that the number of houses erected during the period 1909 to 1913 was scarcely one-fourth of the number built during the previous five years. Some of the causes of that startling collapse in speculative building we shall note presently, but meanwhile it may be well to examine certain aspects of the problem as it affects the great urban centres.

Fearful and wonderful are the tenement houses—nay, neither houses nor homes, but barracks under the guise of tenement “blocks”—which disfigure so many of our Scottish cities. Dull, monotonous streets and lanes, with buildings devoid of either beauty or originality of design! Scottish artisans—as skilled and as capable as any in the world—may build stately mansions for the profiteer, the shipping magnate, for the manufacturer, who waxes fat by selling soap or “shoddy,” or the money-grabbing laird who compels the people of Scotland to pay a heavy toll for the right to live—for all these classes they may rear splendid edifices, but their own homes are barrack-like structures, over-crowded, congested, and often insanitary. Even at best the tenement-blocks are a blot on our civic life; at their worst they are a menace to the health and morals of the whole community. Only those who have had the misfortune to live in a Scottish tenement will be able fully to appreciate the remark of a bewildered African chief as he gazed at one of the miniature sky-scrapers in Edinburgh:—
“Big houses! Wonderful buildings! Great! Great! But I would rather have a little hut all to myself!”

The Scottish Review

The African chief, one suspects, would have emphatically endorsed the scathing comments of Mr. Patrick Geddes on the tenement-houses of Scotland* :—

There is no word which can convey to ordinary old-fashioned English readers—who still cling to the national idea on which they were brought up of homes as separate houses, of each family with its own bit of ground, at least its yard, however small—Historic Edinburgh, Great Glasgow, Bonnie Dundee, and minor ones, with burghs without number, manage to condense and express in their, in one sense, high tradition of "Working-Class Tenements." Inspiring name ! These are inhabited by the majority of the Scottish people ; more than one-half of the population in fact are in one and two room tenements—a state of things unparalleled in Europe or America, in fact in the history of civilisation. To realise these Scottish conditions with any measure of town-planning concreteness, the English reader must build up for himself a model, if indoors, with small packing-cases up to the ceiling ; or if he be rustic enough still to possess an adequate back-yard, small one and two chambered coops and hutches would be the thing, if he could get but enough—piled storey above storey, from five to six, to keep within modern regulations—around a single lofty spiral ladder. Old tenements, of course, are far higher ; indeed the sky-scraper became as characteristic of Old Edinburgh, especially after the Revolution of 1688, as they have now become of New York—and with analogous effect on land values, and consequent difficulty of escaping from them, and from their multiplication elsewhere.

Yet this Scotland is the nation which, up to the beginning of the Industrial Age, was, save Norway, the most rustic and the most stalwart in Europe. It is now the most urban, and how far deteriorated it is happily not here our present duty to inquire.

More than half the population of Scotland in tenements ! Most urban nation in Europe ! Unparalleled in the history of civilisation ! Such is the vivid pen picture of modern Scotland, painted by a distinguished scholar and sociologist who has travelled widely in

* " Cities in Evolution," pages 134-6.

The Housing Scandal

many lands, and is one of the pioneers of the town-planning movement. No one familiar with life in our Scottish towns will venture to say that the picture is in any wise overdrawn.

Even in the better-class tenements, life in one of the piled-up packing cases has its obvious disadvantages. There may be no actual "over-crowding" in the Sanitary Officer's acceptance of the words, but, nevertheless, the tenement system invariably results in confinement within four square walls of women, young children, and aged people. Neither sun nor air can get free access to the houses on the ground floor, since the tenement blocks are generally lined up back and front with similar piles of human hutches, with the usual cellars and outhouses. Even the wind of Heaven seldom visits the lower regions, save as a gusty eddy, laden with the dust of the street. In the higher spheres of this pile of human coops, the working-class mother cannot exercise proper supervision over children playing in the street, nor spend a brief moment of leisure in the open-air—in her ain kail-yard—as she could quite easily do if living in a small, detached cottage. There is no suitable playing patch for the children, where they can be under the eye of their mother. The only place where the busy house-wife can breathe the fresh air (or the smoke impregnated atmosphere) during a brief respite from the duties of the day is in the noisy and dusty street, or on the cribb'd and cabin'd back green common to half-a-dozen other tenants. Moreover, climbing and cleaning the long flights of stairs adds materially to the burden imposed on the wife and mother doomed to spend her

The Scottish Review

days in a Scottish tenement, while the effect of throwing so many families into daily contact and close association is highly objectionable, both from a moral and a social point of view.

Such are the conditions of life in the better type of tenements, where the well-paid artisans, clerks, shop-assistants, and the higher-grades of workmen reside. Not an alluring picture, it is true ; but a comparatively halcyon state of existence compared with the lot of the dwellers in thousands of East-end tenements. In the worst type of houses the conditions are not merely deplorable, but scandalous. The Rev. Dr. Watson, of Glasgow, says :—

The children are forced out of doors to give the housewife room to work. This, to me, is the saddest result of wretched housing. In my evening visitation, I find the children everywhere—sitting in the closes and on the stairs, trying to play, often half asleep on bitter winter nights. Sometimes they play in the dark, evil-smelling courts, sometimes in the dimly lit streets, and they learn no good. They see sights which demoralise and hear language which corrupts. Any good they learn at school is neutralised at night.

Often I come across them sitting by the dozen in their damp, draughty stairs trying to play. I have seen them asleep. The other night I wakened a little girl about four years of age leaning sound asleep, against a door. I asked her what she was doing there at that time—it was nearly ten o'clock—and she said, " My mama's no in." I had seen her earlier in the evening on the ground floor attempting to do a drawing on the wall with a piece of chalk, but this was at the top when I saw her again at her own door and she could not get in.

Where overcrowding on such a scale prevails—particularly in the one-roomed and two-roomed houses—it is virtually impossible to observe even the ordinary decencies of life. One Scottish doctor, giving evidence

The Housing Scandal

before the Commission, instanced a case where a woman was being confined. The husband, wife, wife's mother, and a lodger occupied the same room. "The two beds were head to foot, and the husband and lodger lay in one bed, while a child was born in the other." Another witness cited the case of a medical student who attended the confinement of a woman whose children were playing in the same room—the only place for them to go to. Scarcely less disquieting was the evidence of the Inspector of Poor of Glasgow. In one two-apartment house visited by one of the inspectors "the daughter (aged twenty-one) was recently found to be sleeping with the father (aged forty-nine) and brother (aged nineteen) and did not appear to think there was anything unusual in this." That was a type of case, added the witness, which was commonly found by his inspectors.

But there is no need to multiply evidence as to the blacker side of the housing conditions in Scotland. As to actual over-crowding, the salient facts might be thus briefly expressed :—

In Glasgow, over 62 per cent. of the people live in houses of one and two rooms. There are 80,954 people living more than four in a room.

In Edinburgh, 40·9 per cent. of the houses are of one and two rooms ; 12,402 people are living more than four in a room.

In Dundee, 53·2 per cent. of the houses are of two rooms. There are 9817 people living more than four to a room.

In Aberdeen, in 1911, there are 19,505 people living more than three to a room, and 3446 living more than four to a room.

The Scottish Review

In Paisley, 24,000 people are living in over-crowded conditions (three to a room) ;

In Greenock, over 20,000 ; and

In Leith, over 14,000.

Such are the ugly facts regarding housing conditions in Scotland—conditions which ought to bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of every patriotic Scotsman. It may be quite true that over-crowding and insanitary conditions are not confined to tenement blocks. In the slums of big English centres one may find men, women, and children huddled together under conditions no less deplorable than those which obtain in Glasgow and Dundee. In its unenviable notoriety and soul-destroying effects there may be little to choose between a Scottish slum and the fetid hovels of Old England. But at the same time, so far as our own country is concerned, the human hutches, disguised as tenements, are the bane of the housing system. One welcomes, therefore, the growing revolt of the working-classes of Scotland against this highly objectionable type of building—a revolt which takes concrete shape in the demand of the Scottish Labour Party that tenement building should be discouraged, and preference given to cottage or terrace housing. There is no reason to suppose that tenements were preordained for Scotsmen, and that Scottish wives and mothers delight to dwell in these working-class barracks. Not in the least. Scottish artisans, who have lived for a year or two in the better type of houses in English towns, do not willingly return to the tenement ; and engineers and torpedo workers from Woolwich, who had to migrate to the Clyde through the exigencies of war

The Housing Scandal

work, promptly rose in revolt against the Scottish tenements.

It would be idle, however, to ignore the fact that in Scotland the tenement system is strongly buttressed, not by custom and tradition only, but by economic considerations as well. Custom and tradition perhaps are partly responsible for the brewery villages in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and the little town which has sprung up beside Singer's machine works at Glasgow—tenements all, although in both cases admirable opportunities were missed of planning new villages on Garden City lines. Even at Rosyth, where a welcome departure has been made from the old Scottish plan, the houses are marred by serious defects, both in design and construction. So far as outward appearance goes, this modern town has much to commend it. There is no lack of excellent building ground, and the wide streets are well laid out, with trees planted at regular intervals. The houses are planned in blocks, with plots in front, and a good garden, attached. Nothing quite like it has hitherto been attempted in Scotland. Thus far, thus good; but there is a darker side to this Scottish Garden City experiment. The houses have been slammed up (it is almost an abuse of language to use the word "built" in this connection)—slammed up in a most disgraceful fashion. The new methods of construction might well make an unsophisticated Scottish jerry-builder of the old school tremble for his reputation. This unfavourable impression is confirmed by the report of a Sub-Committee which was appointed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Scottish Trade Union Congress to inquire into

The Scottish Review

and report on "the notable experiment in housing at the Garden City of Rosyth." The members of the Sub-Committee had better opportunities than I can claim to have had of making a thorough and systematic inspection of the Scottish Garden City. They readily concede that the laying out of the streets and the manner in which the houses are planned in blocks is far in advance of anything yet attempted in Scotland. There is no tendency to over-crowding. "Viewed from a distance the blocks look clean and inviting; there is a warmth in appearance that is a decided contrast to the surroundings and appearance of any of our Scottish towns and villages, and to the dweller in tenements in our cities, this modern town will create an envious desire to be a dweller therein." Thus far the members of the Sub-Committee look with marked favour on the general scheme of town-planning. But their comments on the houses reveal, in a few illuminating sentences, the grave shortcomings of Scotland's so-called "Garden City."

It cannot be claimed, as in the case of planning out this modern town, that the houses are by any means ideal. The apartments are very small, and the attempt to provide a habitable house, with modern conveniences, has been prevented by erring in the direction of scrimping the size of the apartments. . . . From an examination of different types of houses it is sufficiently clear that cheapness, from whatever cause, is the guiding factor in the production of houses in this modern town, and quite a good plan has been completely miscarried in the direction of providing adequate accommodation. Given other two feet to the width of each house, and two feet or eighteen inches to the length, the living apartments would be wonderfully improved. The bathroom may be described as an apology—and a very poor one. In a space of five feet three inches by four feet three inches, there is a "bath" and a water-closet. It will tax the ingenuity of the grown-up person to wash by instal-

The Housing Scandal

ments ; to bathe must be left to the imagination. The scullery is provided with a boiler in a space of about two feet three inches. The hot-water tank is placed directly above the boiler. The scullery is also provided with a wash-tub and sink, coal cellar, and a press or larder. These conveniences are all in the direction of improvement on the average working-class house, but cheapness predominates, and utility suffers correspondingly. The doors and finishings are of the very plainest, mouldings and ornamentation entirely absent. The external walls are built of brick, and consist of an outer and inner course of brick work, with a two-inch cavity between. . . . The cavity takes the place of strapping and lathing to prevent damp. The outside of the walls is rough cast. The roofs are tiled with red slates.

In another part of the town which the Sub-Committee visited the outer walls "are constructed of slabs of concrete three inches thick, set up on edge, twelve inches in breadth, an outer and inner slab forming the wall, with a two-inch cavity between, and bound together by bedding iron ties at intervals across the two thicknesses." "The lower storey is built of this material ; the upper is constructed of wood and roofed over that." Such are the model houses at Rosyth Garden City ! Old stone-masons, like the writer, will be tempted to endorse the opinion of one veteran workman who declared that the first high wind would test them ; and those who are familiar with the inner workings of the building trade will realise, from the Sub-Committee's terse description of the houses, that some of the flimsiest and most objectionable devices of the English jerry-builder have been introduced in brazen-faced fashion into the first Scottish Garden City. The Trades Congress Sub-Committee is undoubtedly right in declaring that the housing problem is not being solved at Rosyth, and that it never will

The Scottish Review

be solved "if this kind of jerrying is to be allowed."

Equally emphatic were the members of the Glasgow Labour Party Housing Association who visited Rosyth the other day. After examining the houses, occupied and unoccupied, the members severely criticised the buildings, both as to construction and accommodation. Mrs. Laird, of the Glasgow Housing Association, evidently expressed the views of the visitors when she declared that, having seen the much-talked-of "garden city," their feeling would be one of keen disappointment. "Any woman who had come hoping to find at Rosyth her ideal house would be disappointed." And, in view of the Trades Congress report, the disillusionment of the women is by no means surprising. The moral of all this is obvious. Housing in Scotland should no longer be left to private enterprise. The Scottish National Housing Company, which has built the Rosyth Garden City, has certainly been inspired by higher ideals than those of the more soulless type of speculative builders. The promoters of the scheme have avoided some of the worst evils of congestion or over-building, and the wide streets and open spaces are conducive to health and cleanliness. But the element of profit-making enters into the scheme—as it must do into all private enterprises—and so the accommodation is restricted to the barest minimum, and the houses are run up in a flimsy and slipshod fashion. It is as certain as anything can be that the Rosyth houses will not long withstand the rigours of our northern climate, and that the condition of the buildings will rapidly deteriorate. Rosyth, however, has taught Scottish town-planners some of the evils

The Housing Scandal

to be avoided in the construction of convenient and commodious houses for the working-classes ; and the Women's Town Planning Commission, which is inquiring into the problem from the house-wives' point of view, may be able to provide our architects with some useful and practical hints on the building of the house well-equipped and convenient, as well as the house beautiful.

I have said, however, that builders—and in particular Scottish builders and house-proprietors—have strongly favoured the tenement blocks on grounds of economy. The opinions, or convenience, of the dwellers in the tenements were rarely, if ever, considered. There is admittedly a certain amount of justification for the attitude of the "spec." builder, particularly in Scotland, where the houses are constructed of more substantial materials than is usually the case in England. The prospective house-builder, with £5000 or £10,000 to invest, will obtain a much better return for his money by running up a row of tenements than by building self-contained cottages for the working-classes. It must be frankly conceded that neither class of property has been a lucrative investment since the outbreak of the war and the imposition of drastic rent restrictions.

Even in pre-war times the burdens imposed on owners of house-property were becoming every year more onerous—burdens imposed by the State and the municipalities. To these new imposts are due in great measure the remarkable slump in house-building in the principal Scottish towns to which I referred at the outset. One need not be either a speculative

The Scottish Review

builder or a house-proprietor in order to appreciate the difficulties of their position, or even to sympathise with their protest against an invidious system of taxation. Whatever the outcome of the housing campaign may be, there is a strong case for the thorough overhauling and readjustment of these national and municipal burdens.

But to return to the tenements and self-contained cottages. It is true that something is saved on roofs by building workmen's houses on the piled-up-hutches system, but the additional cost of erecting the loftier stories virtually cancels any such economy. Experience at Hampstead Garden Suburb has demolished the fallacy that housing, except in crowded rows of tenements, is too expensive. It has been established that garden cities built on the "open development" system, each house with its own plot of ground, are not only pleasanter for the dwellers than the barrack-like tenements, but, by the avoidance of costly road-making and similar burdens, cheaper than the bad old system handed down to us by tradition and the jerry-builder. Let the garden suburbs take the place of the dingy streets with their monotonous rows of "model" working-class tenements.

That is the ideal which should be aimed at in Scotland's after-war housing scheme. Let Labour Parties and Trade Union organisations call for more workmen's dwellings by all means; the inauguration of a real national housing scheme is long overdue. There is urgent need for a great clearance of dilapidated and insanitary areas, but unless this reform is accompanied by higher ideals of social and civic life there is a very

The Housing Scandal

real danger that the municipal tenements of to-day may be the slums of to-morrow. There is need on the part of the working-classes of Scotland of a higher conception of what constitutes a house. Why should Scottish working-men—aye, and Scottish architects and builders—cling so tenaciously to standardised tenements? Is it not possible to do in Scotland what has already been accomplished with a marked degree of success at Hampstead Garden Suburb, at Bournville, at Port-Sunlight, and at the miners' garden village at Woodlands, near Chesterfield? Why has no great Scottish captain of industry followed the fine examples of Mr. Cadbury and Lord Leverhulme? Is the pioneer enterprise of Robert Owen at New Lanark already forgotten? Are our Scottish miners less enterprising, less appreciative of the house beautiful, than the colliery workers of Chesterfield?

Electric tramways have rendered possible a great scheme of suburban development, and though in this respect the Scottish capital still lags woefully behind, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and other industrial centres have already led the way. Suburban railways, too, are playing their part; and cheap and rapid communication has made Scottish garden suburbs as practicable as they are desirable. Suburban development on Garden City lines ought to form an integral part of Scotland's new housing scheme.

Closely bound up with the success of the Garden Cities—or, indeed, with any genuine scheme of housing reform—is the allied movement in favour of land reform. Unless the powers of the landlords to extort a heavy toll for the right to live on Scottish soil are

The Scottish Review

drastically curtailed, the erection of a better class of workman's dwellings will be hampered and restricted in a hundred different ways; and even should the scheme succeed in spite of these obstacles, one of the chief results would be the augmentation of the rent-roll of the lords of the soil. The vital bearing of land reform on the solution of the housing problem cannot be too strongly insisted on. In every great industrial centre in Scotland the land-owners have throttled civic development, hampered trade and commerce, and impeded the progress of housing reform. They have held their pistol to the head of the community and demanded a heavy toll for every improvement effected. As the city stretches out towards the suburbs, and the suburbs are swallowed up by the expanding town, the value of the adjoining land increases by leaps and bounds. Immediately it is feued, the agricultural value of the land is multiplied not by tens but by hundreds, and the higher the price the greater the number of lofty tenements do the private builders find it necessary to crowd on to every rood of ground in order to pay the landlord's toll and obtain the best possible return on their own outlay. That is the economic explanation of the sky-scrapers of New York, and the lofty barrack-tenements of Scotland.

Tenement property ensures a bigger toll for the rent-baron than either villas or semi-detached cottages. In Edinburgh, as is pointed out in the report of the Housing Commission, ground for villas and cottages may bring in a modest £40 to £60 per acre to the owner of the land. But for tenement property, that return is multiplied five to ten fold. By piling up the human

The Housing Scandal

hutches, and crowding in as many buildings as is legally permissible, the rent or feu-duties for the land reaches in certain districts of the Scottish capital from £200 to £300 per acre. Indeed, in the case of one tenement, built on land belonging to a public "trust," the feu-duty works out at no less than £656 per acre! In Clydebank, land for feuing costs £20 to £150 per acre per annum, and over and above this the building speculator imposes a ground annual "for his own behoof." Specific cases are cited in the report of the Royal Commission where the proportion of ground rental to total rental is over one-sixth, and in certain properties mentioned it is actually between a fourth and a fifth. In every Scottish industrial centre, the owners of the land are actively engaged in legalised brigandage of a similar kind, although Leith, Dundee, and Edinburgh have the blackest records in this respect. But whatever be the proportion of rental that the ground landlord claims, the working-classes invariably pay a larger sum for the land on which their tenement stands than the rich man pays for his villa, or the middle-class man for his cottage of shabby gentility.

But even more reprehensible than the impositions on the workers are the shameless extortions of plunder and blackmail from large corporations when public improvements are being promoted. Whether it is the widening of a city street, the acquisition of derelict land for "open spaces" or playgrounds, of ground encumbered by dilapidated buildings, or of larger tracks of land for storing water or constructing aqueducts—whatever the purpose for which the patch of God's earth is required, the landowner sees in the

The Scottish Review

Corporation a fat goose to be plucked, and he plucks shamelessly and unblushingly. The toll which the Corporation must pay before it is enabled to carry out urgent city improvements is further increased by the cost of promoting Scottish schemes in London—one of the inevitable results of the misdeeds of the "pack o' traitor loons" whom Burns denounced so scathingly, and of the clumsy attempt of the bureaucrats to govern Scotland from London. Thus do Scottish lairds and English lawyers combine to plunder the big municipalities. And still as of old, whatsoever tune the lairds and lawyers call the long-suffering Scottish rate-payers must pay the piper.

A salutary application of the principle of the taxation of land values would do much to remove the worst of those abuses, but, important though that reform may be, it is not of itself sufficient. It is always possible for the owner of the land to pass on the new burden to the house-speculator, who in turn recoups himself by adding a few shillings to the rent of the tenements. Thus the taxation of land values, so far from cheapening land in the vicinity of large cities, might quite conceivably lead to a further increase in the cost of building and still further hamper and restrict civic development. That is precisely what happened when the thin end of the wedge was inserted by the Finance Act of 1910, and Increment Value Duty, Undeveloped Land Duty, and Reversion Duty were incorporated in our system of taxation, amid a flourish of Liberal trumpets.

The taxation of Land Values may be a temporary palliative; but the only effective remedy for the

The Housing Scandal

legalised extortions of the landlords is the national or municipal ownership of the soil. Only when the land of Scotland belongs to the people of Scotland will it be possible to uproot all the abuses which have sprung up in connection with feu-duties and ground rentals. Municipalities would then be able to lease the land on reasonable terms to prospective builders, or undertake themselves the erection of workmen's houses on a large scale. In Irvine, for example, the Town Council had sufficient foresight to acquire a large area of ground suitable for workmen's dwellings. This land is always available for feuing purposes at £8 per acre—in certain districts rather less. The result is that the private owners of land in the district can get no higher terms for their ground, so congestion and onerous ground rentals are avoided. Equally as necessary, therefore, as the taxation of land values is a well-considered measure to facilitate the acquisition of land on reasonable terms by public authorities.

Such, it seems to me, are the principal points to be kept in view in framing a democratic scheme of housing reform, and it is satisfactory to note that the Election Programme adopted by the Scottish Labour Party, at the annual conference at Glasgow, on Sept. 21st, contains some valuable proposals on the lines indicated. The following are the housing "planks" in the programme :—

(1) Town Councils and County District Committees to be compelled by Parliament to plan out all industrial areas in their jurisdiction, so as to control future developments in Housing, and to be required by the Local Government Board to establish a minimum standard of housing *re* structure, accommodation, sanitation, and amenity, and cause the removal of houses below the standard, and to erect other necessary houses.

The Scottish Review

(2) The Treasury to make grants in aid of all approved expenditure thereon.

(3) Government grant of 20 millions sterling to Local Authorities in Scotland, to be allocated according to population and other local circumstances, in five annual payments, and to be invested by the civic and county authorities in houses, against which there shall be no charge for interest upon capital, all receipts not required for upkeep to be reinvested in further extension of public housing, power being given to public authorities to invest any other surpluses similarly.

(4) Tenement building to be discouraged, and preference given to cottage or terrace housing.

(5) Public authorities to undertake the construction of houses directly, and to give trade-union conditions to all employees.

(TAXATION OF LAND VALUES).

(1) The fullest application of the principle of the taxation of land values as a palliative and aid to the national and communal ownership.

The last clause of the land reform "plank" has also a direct bearing on the housing problem :—

A short act, giving local bodies a free hand in land purchase.

Such is the programme of housing reform to be placed before the people of Scotland by between forty and fifty Labour and Co-operative candidates. The scheme is probably not quite flawless, but, from the point of view of Scottish Nationalism, it is the boldest and most democratic attempt that has yet been made by any political party to solve the housing problem, and remove some of the darkest blots from the national life of Scotland. It will be necessary, however, to insist on revised machinery for the acquisition of land by local authorities, and a just and equitable measure of national autonomy in the carrying out of the scheme.

The Housing Scandal

Fatuous interference on the part of the bureaucrats of Westminster or Downing Street may imperil the success of the most carefully devised plan of housing reform.

The reference to "no charge for interest on capital" raises, however, a highly controversial point, and one on which there is room for legitimate difference of opinion even among those who sympathise with the aspirations of Labour. Stripped of all its political phraseology, the clause virtually means that the new workmen's dwellings are to be subsidised by the State—that they are to be let at uneconomic rents. The same principle is embodied in the scheme prepared by the Local Government Board for Scotland, which provides that the full cost of the erecting the dwellings shall be met in the first instance by means of a State loan to the Local Authority, and that for a stipulated period of years "State assistance shall be given in the form of a grant of a percentage of the loan charges sufficient to relieve the authority of 75 per cent. of the estimated annual deficit." In other words 75 per cent. of the estimated deficit will be met by the State and 25 per cent. by the Local Authorities. All this, of course, presupposes the letting of the houses at an uneconomic rent—at less than the cost of construction, interest, and maintenance. The principle is one of doubtful wisdom, and certainly should not be adopted in connection with any State enterprise except as a temporary palliative, or to meet a great national emergency. Viewed as a proposition in economics, there is no argument against a subsidised loaf, or subsidised beef or pork, which does not apply with equal force to

The Scottish Review

subsidised workmen's cottages. Indeed, the case against subsidised cottages is the strongest of the three. Every section in the community—rich and poor alike—share in the benefits (illusory benefits it may be) of the subsidised loaf, but cheaply-rented municipal cottages would be available for only a very small section of the community. The deficit—the subsidy—would have to be paid by the tax-payers and the ratepayers; and the dwellers in the municipal cottages would occupy the position of a privileged section of the community. It is difficult, if not impossible, to justify that invidious distinction. Not until all the houses are acquired by local authorities would the situation become even tolerably fair and equitable. Even at best the cheaply-rented cottage would merely serve to subsidise low wages, and facilitate the exploitation of the poorly-paid workers. The sweaters would gain what the rack-renting landlord lost.

It should never be forgotten that the housing problem is primarily a wages problem. The sweated seamstresses and factory workers do not stay in farmed-out houses because they prefer to live in the slums, but because stern necessity compels them to do so. The labourer does not live in the attic rooms of a tenement because he enjoys the din and bustle of the piled-up hutches, but because that kind of dwelling is the cheapest obtainable. It is true that in a certain number of cases the slum-dweller may refuse to leave his hovel even although he is earning fairly high wages; the evil-effects of a soul-killing environment cannot be shaken off in a day, but as a general rule it may be safely affirmed that inability to pay the rent of a

The Housing Scandal

larger dwelling is the principal reason why the working classes do not seek better accommodation. In other words, the housing problem is, as I have said, a wages problem, and the solution lies not in subsidised cottages but in better remuneration for under-paid workers—the full fruits of their labour if they will so have it—thus enabling them to pay the full economic rent for a suitable and healthy dwelling with proper amenities. Under existing conditions, however, and in view of the failure of the speculative builder to provide suitable houses at a reasonable price, it will be readily admitted that there is a fairly strong case for letting the municipal cottages at a rent which may barely cover the cost of construction, maintenance, and interest on capital expenditure. Something of that kind is evidently contemplated by the Lloyd George Government, else why the elaborate scheme for relieving the local authority of 75 per cent. of the estimated annual deficit? Such an experiment will have to be very carefully watched by the Scottish Trade Unions, however, as there is a very real danger that what is taken out of the pockets of the land-owner and the taxpayer, may go into the pockets of the capitalist. Let the Scottish municipalities and local authorities build garden cities by all means—that is a highly important step towards social and economic betterment. Let them insist, moreover, on receiving a just and equitable grant from the Imperial Government, but let them also insist that the scheme shall be made self-supporting at as reasonably early a date as possible. That is the surest foundation for the establishment of prosperous garden cities in Scotland. The subsidised dwelling

The Scottish Review

can only be regarded as a temporary palliative for an abnormal situation—a recognition of the fact that at present a fairly large body of workers are unable to pay the actual annual cost of a healthy, well-built, and reasonably commodious dwelling.

The problem of housing reform in the rural districts, and in the crofting areas, differs materially from that with which we are confronted in the towns and burghs. In both cases, however, the need for more houses and better houses is clamant and imperative.

In the mining villages, too, conditions are in many cases deplorable. The majority of the houses are of two rooms ; there are many of one room, and a number with three rooms. The privy accommodation forms one of the worst blots in the mining centres. "An abomination and a danger to the community " said one West of Scotland witness, and the comment is certainly fully warranted. The houses, too, are in many cases defective—cracked brick floors, decaying wood floors, windows too small to let in the light of day, open channels for drainage, bare earth under the bed—such are some of the complaints of the miners and their wives. Over-crowding is far too prevalent in many of the villages. Take a couple of typical cases cited before the Royal Commission. In one old house, consisting of a kitchen and a very small room, there were living a husband, wife, three children, and three lodgers. In another house of one room were two married couples, a girl of eighteen, and three children ! All these things are a scandal and a reproach to Scotland. The Scottish miners must needs be a patient and long-suffering race, else they would "down tools" and

The Housing Scandal

refuse to win another particle of coals until the dilapidated hovels were razed to the ground and the community which they serve so faithfully had recognised its responsibilities and provided them with healthy and well-built houses, houses with proper amenities and conveniences. The scandalous conditions in many mining villages have been tolerated too long and too patiently.

In the country districts the shortage of houses is just as serious as in the big industrial centres, and forms one of the contributory causes of the rural exodus which has been an ominous feature of Scottish national life during the past half-century. The rural labourer—unless he is thirled to one particular farm—finds it increasingly difficult to obtain suitable housing accommodation. The neglected cottages, as they fall into decay, are rarely if ever rebuilt. "It doesn't pay," says the Laird of Bareacres, regardless of the fact that his dogs are better housed than the day labourers on his estate, and that a healthy and vigorous population is the nation's most valuable asset. And so the village labourer, as his family grows up, is compelled through sheer lack of decent housing, to betake himself to the dreary tenement barracks in the distant towns.

The cottages attached to the farms are, in the vast majority of cases, defective in structure, far too small for the normal cottar's family, and often scandalously neglected by farmer and landowner alike. When I recall the modest "but and ben" in which some of my old friends and neighbours reared a family of eight or ten "strappin' lads and bonnie lassies," I can only marvel at their fortitude and the complaisant spirit

The Scottish Review

in which they accepted the hardships of their lot. The older type of cottage contains merely a room and kitchen, entering right and left from the door, with a small " closet " or pantry let in between. . Frequently the floor of the kitchen is of earth or clay, and occasionally of rough flagstones or cement. Most of the cottages suffer from damp, due partly to structural defects and partly to the lack of proper drainage. The inevitable result is—for the farm labourer and his wife, chronic rheumatism and backs prematurely bent. The sanitary arrangements are of the most primitive type—sometimes in fact are conspicuous by their entire absence—and baths and wash-houses have been overlooked by the architect and the builder. Such are the wretched hovels in which the majority of the farm workers of Scotland are compelled to live. And Scottish laws placed on the Statute Book in the bad old days when the laird and his minions ruled the land say that such accommodation is quite good enough. Mention was made, for example, by one witness before the Royal Commission of a case where a man with a large family found himself in a very serious difficulty. Before feeing, he asked particularly about the accommodation and his prospective employer told him that he would find it quite sufficient. When he went " home " to his new situation at the term, however, he found that the house consisted only of a " but-and-ben " in which it was quite impossible for him to house his family with decency. He refused, therefore, to fulfil his engagement. In spite of his definite agreement as to housing accommodation, he was taken to the Sheriff Court and fined 50/- for breach of contract!

The Housing Scandal

Thus are the farm servants of Scotland thwarted by law and custom in their efforts to obtain better housing accommodation ! And the dual responsibility of farmer and landlord for the upkeep of the cottages adds to the rural workers' difficulties.

In some of the rural districts, however, a praiseworthy attempt has been made to provide a better type of dwelling. One or two such cottages I had occasion to visit this summer, and the pleasant contrast to the hovels which I used to know in my farm-servant days, could not fail to impress one very strongly. But such houses are the exception and only serve to emphasise the serious defects of our farm labourers' cottages. There is clamant need for a big scheme of cottage building in rural as well as in urban districts. Cottages with three or four rooms—well drained and provided with proper sanitary accommodation—should be substituted for the out of date "but-and-ben." A fairly large proportion of the existing houses could be enlarged and improved, and the responsibility for seeing that that is done should rest with the Local Authority. The land-owner, and not the farmer, should be responsible for keeping the cottages in proper repair. But even though the less objectionable houses were patched up and enlarged, there is still a large number of damp, dilapidated cottages which ought to be swept out of existence, even though a well-placed charge of gunpowder were a necessary preliminary to reconstruction. It is no exaggeration to say that quite 50 per cent. of the farm labourers' cottages ought to be replaced by new ones. If the bothy system cannot be completely swept away, then

The Scottish Review

the number of men in each of these cheerless buildings should be limited to four. The bothies, moreover, should be brought up to the standard of the best type of cottages.

If the landowners fail—as in all likelihood they will fail—to provide new houses of a proper standard, then the Local Authority, with State assistance, must undertake the responsibility. Powers should be obtained by the Local Authority to acquire land compulsorily for housing purposes, on the lines proposed by the Scottish Labour Party. Wherever possible the houses should be built in groups; indeed, on the larger farms, and in other suitable localities, there is no reason why the Garden Village system should not be adopted. Garden villages would not only lead to economy in construction and improved sanitation, but would provide new social centres and a community of interest even in isolated rural districts. They would aid materially in the social and economic development of the country. In the rural districts, as in the mining centres, garden villages should form the basis of a great democratic scheme of housing reform; and in the big industrial centres garden cities and garden-suburbs will in fulness of time lead to a complete revolution in our housing system.

The housing campaign is one which appeals as strongly to Scottish Nationalists as to the Scottish Labour Party and Highland Land Reformers, for the provision of healthy houses is a prime element in social, political, and industrial progress.

WILLIAM DIACK.

Scottish Labour Aims



COTTISH Labour has given a magnificent lead to the country, and has shown in unmistakable fashion that it has no confidence whatever in the Coalition Government. One suspects that the Scottish stalwarts regard the feckless gang of English politicians, led by the nose by the Northcliffe press, as incompetent bunglers, whose policy of mess and muddle has prolonged the war, and made an early and an honourable peace more difficult than ever of accomplishment. Anyhow, the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party, which met at Glasgow on September 21st, has expressed its approval of a vigorous democratic policy, based on the recognition of national autonomy for Scotland, "the land for the people", and the establishment of a just and durable peace. The temper of the conference was indicated at an early stage by the cordial manifestations of approval with which the remarks of Mrs. Snowden and Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald were received. No doubt, as Mr. Macdonald says, one "must be very generous" to the American Labour delegates, as they are far away from affairs here, and have lived in a world of their own. Nevertheless, it is clear that "on the War they are four years out of date, and on Labour problems they are half-a-century out of date." But equally significant were the views of the conference on the Scottish programme, submitted by the Exe-

The Scottish Review

cutive. The claim of Scotland to national independence was unanimously endorsed. So, too, was the proposed agreement to run candidates for Parliament in conjunction with the Highland Land League.

Then came a tussle over a question which has provoked lively differences of opinion in English Labour circles—the proposal to withdraw the Labour M.P.'s from the Coalition Government. South of the Tweed Labourists have boggled over that step, even while approving of the decision of the Party to make an end of the political truce. But the Scottish Council knows its own mind on the matter, and expressed its views quite explicitly. The Scottish Council of the I.L.P. had placed a resolution on the agenda, declaring that the Conference approved of the decision of the Labour Party to withdraw from the political truce, and demanding the withdrawal from the Coalition Government of the Labour Members of Parliament. This was opposed by Mr. William Twaddle, Glasgow, on behalf of the Fabian Societies. But Scottish Labour would have none of the amateur "tactics" of the London Rip Van Winkles; the amendment received only six votes, the resolution being supported by the large majority of the delegates. A resolution, declaring that a just and lasting peace could not be achieved by a military victory alone, approving open and public negotiations, and demanding immediate facilities for the holding of an international conference of the Labour and Socialist forces of all countries, was also adopted by the Conference.

These decisions make it perfectly clear that Scottish Labour refuses to be thirled to the reactionary elements

Scottish Labour Aims

of the party represented by men of the Havelock Wilson, Roberts, Hodge, Tillett, and Tupper type. Scottish Labour, moreover, has set its house in order for the coming General Election, and the agreement with the Highland Land League will give special significance to the campaign in the rural districts.

The proposal to run candidates in conjunction with the League, was, as has been noted, approved by the Scottish Advisory Council; and it has also been cordially endorsed by the members of the Highland Land League. The Highland Land League has just taken a vote of its members throughout Scotland on the following questions:—

“Are you in favour of the Highland Land League presenting Candidates for Parliament in Highland constituencies?”

In response, 5220 members voted “Yes,” while the “No’s” were conspicuous by their absence.

“Are you in favour of an arrangement being made with the Scottish Labour Party to present mutually-agreed-on candidates in Highland constituencies?” As in the first case, the voting resulted:—Yes, 5220; No, 0.

“Are you in favour of the following being added to the condition of membership of the League—‘No person who holds a title bestowed by Royalty, or accepts a decoration other than an award for bravery, shall be eligible for membership in the Highland Land League, and acceptance of such title or decoration shall automatically forfeit the acceptor’s membership’?” This time the response was scarcely so satisfactory, the vote resulting—Yes, 1880; No, 690. Not quite what it

The Scottish Review

might have been, but still the figures make it perfectly clear that the members of the League place but little store on man-made titles—or on “ribbons, stars, an’ a’ that”—and view with profound suspicion the man who falls a victim to the allurements of an O.B.E. At the same time, in view of the small number who voted on the honours question, the General Council decided to take no action in the matter in the meantime.

A Joint Committee of the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party and the Highland Land League has been appointed, and this Committee will shortly issue an appeal to the Scottish people for support in an effort to secure the return in as many Scottish constituencies as possible of candidates favourable to autonomy for Scotland, the land for the people, and the Scottish Labour Party’s programme of national reconstruction after the war. Already over 40 candidates have been adopted, and the candidates for the Highland Constituencies nominated by the Highland Land League and the Labour organisations will shortly be announced. And so there are prospects of some “live contests” in Scotland at the next General Election. Already the intimation that a big Land and Labour Campaign is on foot has aroused consternation in the camps of the old political parties; and in several of the Highland constituencies there has been a shaking of the dry bones of Scottish Liberalism.

W. D.

*The Celt in Scotland**

I.



HERE are few subjects which have been more subject to misrepresentation than that indicated by the title of this article. It is still a popular and widely-spread belief that the Scottish Celt forms but a small minority of the population of our country, and that the great majority are of Teutonic descent. Further, the Celts are commonly identified with the so-called Highlanders, just as the supposed Anglo-Saxons are identified with the so-called Lowlanders, who are also assumed to have driven the Celts from the south of Scotland into the region now solely assigned to them in popular fancy. More than a century ago George Chalmers attacked these superficial theories in his well-known work, *Caledonia*. Fifty-six years ago, E. W. Robertson, in a masterly appendix to *Scotland under her Early Kings*, demolished the Theory of Displacement, as he termed the popular belief concerning the alleged ousting of the Celts by the Teutons. Still more recently, Prof. R. S. Rait has pointed out that this theory is quite untenable, a matter which has also been discussed more than once in the pages of *Guth na Bliadhna*.

* The quotations made in this article from the works of the early English writers in Scotland are taken from the editions published by the Scottish Text Society. In these, and in other cases, references are to volume and page, except where otherwise mentioned.

The Scottish Review

It is well known that there are few things more difficult to overtake than a lie, especially if the lie be a sturdy vagabond, and has obtained a good start. When fiction of this sort has also the support of a more or less ignorant and denationalised press, and in the shape of "history" is freely circulated in the common schools of the country, the task of overtaking and destroying it becomes still more arduous. The Theory of Displacement enjoys all the temporal advantages I have spoken of, though it is so utterly opposed to all the facts of history, and is so transparently faulty from a scientific point of view, that the wonder is that any one holding it should be at liberty to tell the tale. At the risk of being charged with mutilating the dead, I am about to dispossess that Theory anew.

The supposed expulsion of the Gael from the fertile fields of the Lowlands is generally ascribed to some more or less undefined period of time between the opening of the eleventh and the close of the twelfth centuries, the chief share in the process of expropriation being set down to the credit or discredit of David I. In order to form a clearer idea of the various elements in this complex problem, it will be better, in the first place, to go back a few centuries, and see what light is thrown upon the matter by the history of Scotland prior to the reign of David.

The Roman occupation of southern Scotland can have had but little influence upon the racial composition of the people. In the first place, the Roman hold on this, their most northerly province, was a precarious one, and was not nearly so prolonged as was their hold on the southern provinces of the country now

The Celt in Scotland

called England. In the next place, the two legions which had a longer and closer connection than any others with the garrisoning of the northern province were the second and sixth, which were recruited for the most part from Gaul and Spain. In their racial composition, these countries are very similar to Scotland and Ireland, and therefore any intermarriage between the legionaries and the natives would not materially affect the racial complexion of the people of Scotland. The Roman occupation, such as it was, had the same enervating effect upon the people of southern Scotland that it had upon the inhabitants of England. Consequently, the south-eastern portion of the Roman province, the area afterwards known as Lothian, fell an easier prey to the English invaders than it would otherwise have done.

At the time of the barbarian invasion and colonisation in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, there were, outside Lothian, three other more or less well-marked political groups in Scotland, as is testified by Gildas and Bede. The Gaels, Scots or Dalriads—the names are used indifferently—occupied a territory roughly corresponding to the modern county of Argyll, with a coastal extension northwards. The rest of the country north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde was occupied by the Cruithnich or Picts. The term "Pict" has also been applied to the men of Galloway, although the accuracy of this terminology was disputed by the late Dr. Alexander Macbain, who regarded it as the blunder of "two bungling English ecclesiastics." Undoubtedly there was a large Gaelic element in Galloway. Between Galloway and Lothian were the

The Scottish Review

lands of the Britons or Welsh of Strathclyde. The various peoples just mentioned—Dalriads, Picts, and Britons—all spoke Celtic languages. Before the Teutonic invasion, Celtic was probably spoken in Lothian, as in the rest of Scotland. It is now generally admitted that Pictish was a Celtic language of the Brythonic branch, a conclusion which is the result of a long and at times acrimonious discussion of the subject by men more or less well qualified to pronounce an opinion. The Pictish Chronicle says that the Picts were descended from the same people as the Scots, *i.e.* the Dalriads (*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 3), a claim that would hardly have been advanced if the Picts were mainly non-Aryan and the Dalriads mainly Celtic, as is sometimes supposed. At the same time, there is distinct evidence of the existence of pre-Celtic racial groups in Pictland, and to these groups we owe the systems of matriarchal succession and exogamic marriage in vogue among the Picts. I may here explain that in this article the word "Celtic" is used in a purely linguistic sense—that is to say, no racial signification whatever attaches to it. Any people speaking a Celtic language within historic times may legitimately be termed a Celtic people, whatever their racial composition.

Prior to the English invasion of Lothian, the shores of the Firth of Forth had probably been the seat of Frisian settlements. Culross is referred to as "litus Fresicum" in a life of St. Kentigern. John of Eversden calls the Firth of Forth the Frisian sea (*Chronicon ex Chronicis* ii. 250). Nennius also refers to the same firth as the Frisian or Frenisic sea.

The Celt in Scotland

For many years, a comparatively narrow strip of land between Stirling and Linlithgow formed an early Debateable Ground between the contending peoples, the Picts, Angles, and men of Strathclyde, fortune sometimes favouring one side and sometimes the other. On the whole, however, the western end of this disputed area remained less subject to Teutonic influence than the eastern. It partly comprised the ancient territories of Manau and Calatria, the eastern boundary of which was formed by the Pentland hills, so styled, it is commonly believed, after the Picts of the district. The name "Manau" is preserved in the modern place-names, Dalmeny, Slamannan, and Clackmannan, the last-mentioned place being situated in a part of Manau on the other side of the Forth. In Manau, about 547, the Celts and the Angles fought the famous battle of Cattræth, commemorated in the Welsh poem of the Gododin. Owing to want of foresight on the part of their enemies, the Angles won, and probably as a result, the Celts were pushed southwards to some extent.

The real Teutonic conquest of Lothian, however, took place in the first half of the seventh century, under Ethelfrid and Edwin. In 603, the Angles won a great victory at Degsastan, perhaps the modern Dawstane, and, some thirty years later, they reached the shores of the Firth of Forth. About the same time, the Northumbrian people became converted to Christianity, through the agency of Gaelic missionaries from Iona, sent to convert the English heathen in 634 and later years. Thus, the English conquest of Lothian took place about the time of the second phase of the Teutonic conquest of the southern part of this island,

The Scottish Review

the phase in which extermination and expulsion were not such prominent features as they were in the earlier years of the conquest. For this reason, a remnant of the Celtic-speaking population probably remained on the soil. Lothian, moreover, or at all events, its north-western extremity, where the effects of invasion thinned out, as it were, marked the extreme northern limit of the Anglie invasion, and for that reason also it would be natural to expect that the Celts of the district fared somewhat better than their kinsmen in the east of England. The name Saix-Brit, once given to the people of the south-east of Scotland, also suggests the survival of a respectable proportion of the earlier population, unless it refers to later Celtic immigrants. In the modern Berwickshire, however, everything points to the conclusion that the Celts suffered expulsion on a much more considerable scale than elsewhere. Dr. Beddoe remarked that the people of that county were "strongly Anglian," like those of the adjoining county of Northumberland. (*Races of Britain*, p. 249).

The English made several attempts to extend their conquests in a northerly direction, attempts which attained a temporary success in the period 671-685. But in the last-mentioned year, the Picts inflicted a crushing defeat on the English at Nectansmere, one of the three decisive battles in the history of Scotland, the other two being those of Carham and Bannockburn. For some years after Nectansmere, the English rule over Lothian was probably much more nominal than real, a state of affairs by no means inconsistent with Bede's account of the battle, wherein he states that the Forth divided the Picts from the Angles. More per-

The Celt in Scotland

manent success attended English efforts to establish their rule on the southern coast of Galloway, where a line of English bishops held sway from the time of Bede until 803, when English rule came to an end. The Celtic triumph at Nectansmere also destroyed for a time English influence in Strathclyde, where Anglic settlements had been made. Later on, the English made other attempts on the independence of that province. In 750, they conquered the plain of Kyle, if the statement by the continuator of Bede is to be relied upon, and about 945, the "Saxons" ravaged Strathclyde, according to the Welsh annals.

The real boundaries of the English province of Lothian about the middle of the ninth century are indicated by Symeon of Durham in his description of the boundaries of the ancient diocese of Lindisfarne, a diocese of which the province of Lothian formed the northern part. Modern boundaries, whether ecclesiastical or civil, often coincide more or less with ancient political frontiers. In many cases the older ecclesiastical and other boundaries, the boundaries of the days prior to modern "rectifications," follow even more closely early political lines of demarcation. Symeon's description is therefore of great value in this connection. Symeon says that the boundaries of the northern part of the diocese of Lindisfarne were marked by the (White) Adder, the Leader, and the Esk. He also mentions that Melrose, Jedburgh, Yetholm, and other places in the east of Roxburghshire pertained to the diocese of Lindisfarne. (*Historia* i. 197-9; ii. 101). The Esk marks the real northern limit of the English province. Beyond that river, the Angles had only isolated settlements, such as Abercorn.

The Scottish Review

The thrones of Dalriada and Pictland were united in the person of Cinaed Mac Ailpin in 844. The exact circumstances attending the overthrow of Pictland as a separate independent state are still somewhat obscure. But, undoubtedly, the Picts were hard pressed by the Norse invader, and this circumstance rendered possible the rapid expansion of the Dalriadic power, especially as Cinaed had a claim to the Pictish throne in right of his mother—matriarchy, as already mentioned, being a Pictish custom. The union of these two Celtic principalities rendered possible the existence of a great Celtic kingdom more or less corresponding as to its limits with the modern Scotland. The language of Pictland gradually gave way before the allied speech of Dalriada, and by 1130, or earlier, if Henry of Huntingdon is to be trusted, it had ceased to exist as a spoken tongue. (*Historia Anglorum*, pp. 12-13). Reginald of Durham indeed implies that Pictish was still spoken in Galloway in 1164, when the Abbot of Rievaulx visited Kirkcudbright. Gaelic, however, and not Pictish, was probably the language Reginald had in mind. Reginald was one of Dr. Macbain's "two blundering English ecclesiastics." Dr. Macbain pointed out that two very material factors in the death of the Pictish language must have been the fact that, unlike Gaelic, it was not a literary language, and that Gaelic, not Pictish, was the language of the church in Pictland, apart, of course, from Latin (*Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, xxi. 211). The late and unreliable stories about the extermination of the Pictish people were probably suggested by the death of the language. The Irish and other contemporary

The Celt in Scotland

historians know nothing concerning the alleged massacre of the Picts, any more than does John of Fordun, to whom such a story, if he believed it, would have been particularly welcome, as fitting in with his historical theories.

Strathclyde also became part of the enlarged Celtic kingdom founded by Cinaed Mac Ailpin, and gradually its Brythonic speech gave place to the allied Gaelic. There was a Gaelic immigration into Renfrew and Ayr in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Cinaed also attached Melrose and Dunbar, and probably made himself master of Lothian, a province he is said to have invaded six times. Girig invaded Bernicia, the ancient Bryneich, the province of which Lothian was a part. Later, the Angles recovered their hold on the province, Athelstan invading Lothian, and perhaps taking Edinburgh, in 934. That town was retaken by the Scots about a quarter of a century later. Not till the battle of Carham in 1018 were the rights of the Gaelic kingdom in Lothian firmly established. After that battle, the bulk of the English population probably remained on the soil, a fate which very likely suggested the stories of John of Wallingford concerning the toleration extended to their laws and language. A few Gaelic placenames in Berwickshire, rapidly increasing as we go north and west into the rest of Lothian, but mingled with the older Brythonic placenames, attest the Gaelic connection with the province. The English settlers in Strathclyde were also probably expelled at the time of the Celtic reconquest of that province, or else remained on the soil in a more or less subordinate position.

The Scottish Review

Such were the strength and the resources of the Mac Ailpin dynasty that the Norse and Danish invaders were restricted to the outskirts and borders of the country. The Norse settlements were limited to parts of Galloway, Cunningham, the Hebrides and the coast of the opposite mainland, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, and certain places on the north-east coast. The Danes attacked southern Scotland principally. The Norseman and the Dane never obtained as great a hold on Scotland as they did on England. Thus, the Celtic kingdom of Alban was strong enough to do that which the feebler English kingdom conspicuously failed to do. Yet, in spite of facts such as these, we are sometimes told by their detractors that the Celts are not, and never have been, a "governing race"! Further, the districts occupied by the Norse were ultimately reconquered by the Celt, and the Gaelic language ousted the Norse from the greater part of the reconquered area, a fact which demonstrates the great innate strength and vitality of the language. As the late Dr. George Henderson remarks, the Norse influence "was so mighty that had the Gaelic language not been one of the most vigorous forms of speech, it must have died out" (*Norse Influence in Celtic Scotland*, p. 2).

Thus, in the end, out of the conflicting racial and political groups a Gaelic-speaking Scottish nation arose. Decades and centuries of struggle against external and sometimes internal foes only served to weld the component parts more firmly together. The racial and early political heterogeneity was ultimately lost in the national homogeneity. Just as a chemical compound,

The Celt in Scotland

under the action of external forces, may be built up from its various and different constituent elements, so, in the great political furnace, a nation is in time evolved from its originally separate component parts. In Scotland, the Gaels shewed a political capacity that was displayed by no other European people of the same epoch. A great Gaelic-speaking kingdom was established. It was not the Teutons who built up the Scottish state and nation, but the Gaels, at the head of a Celtic confederacy of Gaels and Brythons. It is, therefore, the Gaelic language, and it alone, which is entitled to be called the national language of Scotland, all the more so as for centuries it continued to be the language of the vast majority of the people. Although there was at one time every possibility that the Scottish kingdom would remain Gaelic in every way, yet the current of the national destinies was ultimately turned aside. A non-Celtic speech, non-Celtic ideals, and finally an anti-Celtic system of government were introduced, and these in the end proved the ruin of Gaelic Scotland.

The reign of Maol Coluim III. (Malcolm Canmore) has been supposed by some of the more extreme advocates of the theory of displacement to have been marked by the expulsion of the Celt, and by the anglicization of the country; while others, less extreme in their views, have suggested that later reigns witnessed these strange visitations of their imaginations.

Symeon of Durham said that, as a result of Malcolm's invasion of England in 1070, scarcely a hamlet or hut in Scotland was without English slaves or handmaids (*Historia Regum*, ii. 192), a description which must

The Scottish Review

be heavily discounted, as his account of the burning of Wearmouth in the same expedition is grossly inaccurate. On the other hand, the Norman conquest of England undoubtedly had the effect of slightly increasing the small English population in Scotland, a population confined, as already pointed out, to the recently incorporated province of Lothian, and more particularly the south-east of that province. The English refugees would naturally seek a home with their kinsmen in Lothian, where Malcolm kindly allowed them to remain, even granting estates to some in that neighbourhood, where their presence would not so much arouse the hostility of his Celtic subjects, and "where the same hostility to the Norman rule which prompted their emigration would secure their fidelity as watchful guardians of the English marches." But there is no evidence whatever to encourage the belief that the refugees came in numbers sufficient to swamp the Celts, or to drive them into the "Highlands." The numbers of the refugees have been much exaggerated. The English element remained substantially what it was before the Norman conquest, a small minority.

Malcolm's queen, Margaret, who was semi-English by descent, and wholly so in sympathies, is sometimes said to have done much to anglicize the country, another statement for which there is no proof. Her influence, indeed, was partly responsible for certain changes in the Church and "court," changes in themselves comparatively unimportant, and in no way subversive of Celtic institutions generally, or of Celtic culture. The Gaelic churchmen were not extruded.

The Celt in Scotland

Margaret's biographer, Turgot, records the fact that the bilingual Malcolm acted as interpreter between his wife and the churchmen at the conferences she initiated for the discussion of ecclesiastical matters. Malcolm, as Mr. Robertson remarks, was a Gaelic king to the last. The vast majority of his subjects were Gaelic-speaking men and women. The Gaelic power was such that the men of Lothian were probably bilingual. It must be remembered that one of the consequences of the battle of Carham was the reintroduction of Celtic rule and Celtic speech into Lothian. Indeed, the Gaelic language even spread into the county of Northumberland. Many of the English refugees would find it necessary to acquire a knowledge of Gaelic. Only the Norsemen of the outlying districts, a section of the English of Lothian, and some of Margaret's court favourites, would be unacquainted with Celtic speech. The numerical superiority of the Celts was such that they were in a position to kill or expel obnoxious English or Norman aliens whenever they chose to do so, as, in fact, they actually did on more than one occasion. English courtiers, for example, were so treated on two occasions shortly after the death of Margaret, two English chroniclers, Symeon of Durham, and the writer of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, even going as far as to state that *all* the English were driven out of Scotland. On the latter of these two occasions, the Celts are said to have made a bargain with the new king to the effect that no more Normans or Englishmen should be allowed to enter the country.

On the other hand, the sons of Malcolm and Margaret attempted to introduce innovations of a more or less

The Scottish Review

anti-Celtic nature, although, as we shall see, the Gaelic-speaking population remained practically undisturbed in the possession of the soil. No doubt, Margaret's sons and daughters were brought up under her personal supervision, and it is significant that they all bore non-Celtic names. After the death of their mother, the sons went to England, where their sisters had previously been sent, and where they came under the influence of the feudal ideas of the Norman court. The natural result of these early experiments in the supposed virtues of an "English education" was that these children, especially the younger and more susceptible of them, were more or less out of sympathy with the superior culture of their own country. But even David, undoubtedly the ablest, as he was the most pro-Norman, of all Margaret's sons, was powerless to expel the Celts from the southern and eastern lowlands, even if had he wished to do so, of which no evidence exists. A policy of that kind would have raised rebellion all over Scotland, which is sufficient proof of its innate absurdity.

The innovations of the kings of the Malcolm-Margaret line, their introduction of feudal tenures and institutions, etc., have been much exaggerated. It has been assumed and suggested by the advocates of the theory of displacement that the older Celtic institutions were swept clean away by these princes, whereas the real fact is that the two tenures existed side by side for some time, and when at last the feudal institutions became supreme in the lowlands and the Gaelic language began slowly to recede, those changes did not mean that the Celtic population had been expelled, still less exterminated. As Mr. Robertson says,

The Celt in Scotland

"the dialect and the tenure of ancient Scotia may have been pushed out, but surely not the men," and again, "the whole policy of David and his successors (he remarks) appears to have been founded on a principle diametrically opposed to this theory of displacement. It was his object to *introduce*, but not to *enforce*, feudal tenure; to tolerate rather than to perpetuate Scottish service." These points are considered in detail below.

Alexander I.'s grant to the monastery of Scone, *circa* 1120, affords one of the earliest illustrations of feudal tenure in Scotland. The land granted was to be held direct from the crown, a proceeding in marked contrast to the Celtic tenures exemplified in the *Book of Deer*. But Sir A. C. Lawrie gave reasons for regarding this charter as spurious, although before he died, he slightly qualified his objections (*Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 28, 279; *Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 94). Charters are also attributed to Edgar, Alexander's predecessor, but, with one exception, those of them which are genuine have sole reference to English holdings in Lothian, and therefore have no particular bearing upon the fortunes of the Celtic population outside that province. Similar remarks apply to Earl David's charter to Selkirk, *c.* 1120. The exception mentioned refers to the priority of St. Serf's, and is merely confirmatory of an earlier grant, presumably that by Macbeth and Gruoch.

The changes introduced by David I. have been grossly exaggerated as well as to their province and scope as to their immediate effects. Although these changes were revolutionary as regards their *ultimate* results, yet David himself was one of the mildest

The Scottish Review

revolutionaries that ever held a sceptre. David's general aim was to introduce Anglo-Norman feudal institutions into Scotland to as great an extent as possible; but being an astute and far-seeing ruler, he was always careful to observe cautious measures. He laboured to make the possession of a charter, whether in the case of individuals or of communities, a necessary preliminary to the holding of land. To his Anglo-Norman friends he made gifts, not so much of land, as of rights over land, which rule he was careful to observe save in the province of Moray. As Mr. Robertson puts it, "he never made his Norman nobles earls, but barons, with the rights and customs of an earl." In the areas affected by such gifts, the old proprietors were not dispossessed, but became the tenants of the new noble, who sometimes gave them charters, which perhaps some of them preferred as a more stable form of tenure, so far as their own personal interests were concerned, than that by which they had formerly held their domains. Further, the Gaelic nobility were persuaded to accept feudal titles, the *mórmaer* becoming an earl, or *comes* as in the Latin charters, and the *tóiseach* becoming a thane, in the same way as the *maithéan* became *probi homines* in the charters. Such a noble, to again quote Mr. Robertson, "was simply a royal deputy interposed between the proprietary and the sovereign, and not interfering in any way with existing tenures." The change of title just alluded to originated possibly before the days of David, for, in the above-mentioned Scone charter, at least one of the mormaers mentioned in the *Book of Deer*, Gartnait, is described as a *comes*. Maol Iosa, the

The Celt in Scotland

Gaelic ruler of Strathearn, is probably the *comes* Mallus of that charter, and Ruadri, mormaer of Marr, may possibly be the *comes* Rothri. Later charters refer to other representatives of the Gaelic nobility by the same new title.

David's policy, therefore, was essentially moderate. Except in the "rebel" province of Moray, his policy, as it worked out in actual practice, was to have two forms of tenure in his kingdom—the one Celtic, the other feudal. Innovations on such a scale as would have aroused general rebellion, he wisely refrained from attempting. Only in Moray, the ancestral seat of the rival claimants to the throne and the greatest stronghold of Celtic custom, did David proceed to extremes, and then only after a rebellion partly dynastic in character. David's interference with Moravian tenures was apparently confined to the lowlands of the province, the forfeited lands of some of the Celtic proprietors being given to his Anglo-Norman favourites, to hold by feudal tenure. The general Celtic population was left undisturbed. Yet these changes, although affecting merely a limited area of the province, were largely responsible for the many later rebellions therein organised, a significant indication of what would have happened in Scotland generally, if drastic changes involving the expulsion of the lowland Celts as a whole had been attempted. Ailred of Rievaulx describes David as being "not less feared than loved by all the Scottish nation." This could not possibly have been the case if widespread displacement had been the general rule and not the exception. Hate, not love, would have been the portion of a king too intent on innovations.

The Scottish Review

In connection with David's doings in Moray, mention may conveniently be made in this place of the supposed plantation of that province in the reign of his grandson Malcolm, according as it is recorded by John of Fordun. Fordun is the only mediaeval historian who refers to this event in detail, and it is important also to remember that he wrote considerably more than two hundred years after the events he set out to describe. No contemporary historian makes detailed mention of *widespread* displacement. Fordun says that Malcolm, having gathered a great army, scattered the natives of Moray among the other parts of Scotland, some on this side of the hills and some on that, so that not one remained in his native home, and in their place he installed his own peculiar and peaceful people (*Gesta*, iv.). This supposed plantation followed a Mac Heth rebellion, precisely as did David's intervention in the affairs of the province, an intervention, however, which Fordun hardly notices. That authority merely says that Angus, Earl of Moray, and his men were killed at Stracathro; he also makes a later, and even more general, reference to David's "triumph over the Moravians." It is therefore possible that Fordun was confusing the events of the two reigns, to a certain extent. In any case, his description in the *Gesta* would be a gross exaggeration even of David's doings, which were doubtless more drastic than Malcolm's. Certain further changes in the administration of the Moray lowlands were probably made by Malcolm, the lands of the rebels no doubt being forfeited. In this connection, it is suggestive that in 1159, Malcolm made a grant to Berowald, a Fleming, of the lands of

The Celt in Scotland

Innes and Etherurecard. The remark in the contemporary *Chronicon Anglo-Scoticum*, "rex Malcolmus Mureuienses transtulit," probably implies no more than a local and partial emigration. Malcolm's time was so fully occupied with affairs in Galloway that he had no opportunity for such revolutionary operations affecting the whole province of Moray as are described by Fordun. The plantation of the Moray highlands (a much larger area than the lowlands experimented on by David and Malcolm himself), would have been practically impossible to anyone possessing Malcolm's slender resources and opportunities. It is also noteworthy that even Fordun does not suggest that men of alien blood were planted in Moray. Malcolm's "own peaceful people" were doubtless Celts from other parts of Scotland, who were faithful to his cause. Again, Fordun's description, assuming for the sake of argument that it had some background of fact, is expressly limited to Moray, one province out of several. He makes no mention of expulsion and plantation in other parts of Scotland. Lachlan Shaw, the historian of Moray, referred to a passage in the *Book of Paisley*, which, if accurate, probably implied merely a limited expulsion. The passage in question says that Malcolm ordered the expulsion of every family in Moray which had engaged in the rebellion. Apart from the fact that many of the Moravians might not have been concerned in the rebellion at all, it need hardly be recalled that Scottish kings, like other rulers, frequently found it much easier to give orders than to carry them into effect.

A later plantation, also mainly imaginary, is some-

The Scottish Review

times ascribed to Robert I. Without doubt, that monarch, and his brother Edward, inflicted severe punishment upon the followers of the Comyns, and wasted Buchan to such an extent that its "herschip" or harrying, as Barbour called it, was remembered for more than fifty years. The forfeited lands of the Comyns were given to followers bearing Teutonic names, if not to men of Teutonic blood (Hays, Frasers, Gordons, etc.), but there is no evidence to show that the Celtic population as a whole was displaced by a Teutonic one. Such changes as did take place were similar to those which took place elsewhere, and which are referred to more fully below. They consisted in changes in personal nomenclature, in customs, and in speech, and did not involve the expulsion of the Celt.

As the Norman partiality of the descendants of Queen Margaret encouraged the intrusion of Anglo-Norman aliens into the ranks of the native landed aristocracy, so others were allowed to intrude into the Church via the same channel. In 1093, the *Annals of Ulster* record the death of Fothud of St. Andrew's, *ardepscop Alban*, "Archbishop of Scotland," as he is termed. A successor was not appointed till fourteen years had passed, when the Englishman, Turgot, was made bishop of St. Andrews. The ancient Celtic monastic seats were gradually filled, but only in part, with foreign ecclesiastics. For example, in 1219, English Cistercians were intruded into the famous monastery of Deer, and their influence probably helped to spread the English language in the province of Buchan. Alexander I. "planted" the monastery of Scone with Cistercians from Yorkshire. As is well

The Celt in Scotland

known, David, the "Sair Sanct," was responsible for the establishment of several new ecclesiastical foundations, and these he filled with his foreign favourites. After the rebellion in Moray, he endowed the priory of Urquhart in that province, and transferred thereto English monks from Dunfermline, the favourite residence of his mother. These monks probably played a similar part to that of their countrymen in Deer in helping to spread the English language. The linguistic influence of these foreign ecclesiastics is illustrated by one of the synodal statutes of the diocese of Aberdeen in the thirteenth century, which says, "let priests teach that laymen frequently may and ought to baptise children in extremity . . . in the Roman or even the English tongue" (Patrick's *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, p. 30). The use of the Gaelic language was apparently banned in the circumstances described, although at that time it was the only language known to the vast majority of the lay population of the diocese.

In this connection, it may perhaps be worth while to note another popular error. The introduction of foreign ecclesiastics, prejudicial as it was to the national interests, was accompanied by no theological change. Slight alterations, some of them real reforms, were indeed initiated by Margaret, and others by her son David, but they involved no transfer of ecclesiastical allegiance or any other fundamental religious change. Theologically, the Scottish Church remained what it was in the days of Colum Cille, a part of Catholic Christendom. Although foreign churchmen were introduced, no foreign church was established, and the native churchmen did not suffer wholesale expulsion,

The Scottish Review

as will be shown later. David's policy, although it was none the less objectionable on that account, was, in this as in other respects, one of peaceful penetration only.

The promotion of commerce was another feature of the rule of David and that of his successors. Teutonic traders and craftsmen, chiefly Flemings and English, were encouraged to settle in the towns then springing up on the east coast, where they found the peace and tranquility many of them could not find in their own country. The English were relatively strongest in Lothian, as was only natural, while the Flemings, who were mostly weavers, seem to have been most numerous further north, especially in Aberdeenshire. In ancient Scotia, north of the Forth, the population of the burghs, with a few exceptions, notably Aberdeen and Dundee, seems to have been more Celtic than Teutonic. It was different in Lothian, where Englishmen formed the great majority of the burghal population. Even in Stirling, although the country round about was entirely Gaelic-speaking, the influence of late thirteenth-century English traders is traceable in the old burgh seal. Two bodies of armed men are represented as facing each other on opposite sides of the Forth. Those on the south are armed with the English bow, and are described as "tuti cruce," whereas the Gaelic spearmen on the north are contemptuously referred to as "bruti Scoti." The Teutonic population in the new burghs naturally helped to spread Teutonic speech, although this tendency would be checked to a certain extent by intermarriage with the Celts. Some of the burghs—Inverness, Nairn, Forres, Elgin, Banff, and

The Celt in Scotland

Aberdeen—banded themselves into a league. A similar league was founded in the south. A burghal code was drawn up in David's reign, the regulations of which were based upon those of Newcastle, an English town (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*. I. 33-36).

That foreign burghers formed only a small minority of the population of Scotland is evident from an incident recorded by William of Newburgh after the capture of William the Lion in 1174. He says that the Scots fell upon those English burghers who were in the Scottish army, that some of these burghers were killed, and that the rest fled to the royal castles (*Chronicles of Stephen, etc.*, i. 186). This points to the numerical inferiority of the English. Although for some time, some of the burghs, especially Aberdeen, received a stream of fresh Teutonic immigrants, yet this source of supply eventually became a negligible quantity, while, at the same time, the Celtic population of the burghal *hinterland* began to emigrate into the towns in increasing numbers, thereby gradually swamp-ing the Teutons in the north-eastern lowlands. Immigrants from the country were indeed directly encouraged by the burghal laws.

A town language brought into contact with a different language in the surrounding districts usually prevails over the latter in course of time, for this reason, among others, that it is the language of an organised and comparatively large body of men as compared with the language of an unorganised and scattered body, relatively weak numerically. The Celtic immigrants into the towns and their kinsmen immediately outside, gradually came under the operation of this rule.

The Scottish Review

Further, the Teutonic dialect of the towns and Lothian was a language easily understood by the merchants in Flanders and other Teutonic countries who traded with Scotland. In course of time, the Gaelic language was relegated to the background. The Celtic incomers often adopted Teutonic surnames, in many cases the Teutonic names of their trades. Hence arose such surnames as Smith, Taylor, Skinner, and so on. Thus the Celtic language and the Celtic personal names disappeared to some extent, although the Celt himself remained.

A somewhat similar change occurred in the case of the Gaelic notabilities in the country districts. At first, only the Norman barons had surnames, but eventually their more numerous Gaelic neighbours adopted surnames derived from the names of the lands they occupied or were connected with, a custom quite unknown till the twelfth century. In this way arose such surnames as "de Ogilvie" and "de Strathbogie," assumed by members of the old Gaelic nobility of Angus and Fife respectively. This practice was not confined to the nobility or to the civil population. We find, for example, that Cormac, the Gaelic abbot of Turbruid (now anglicized Turriff), who is mentioned in the *Book of Deer* in connection with the grant made about 1135 by the Gaelic mormaer of Buchan and his wife, is again mentioned some fifteen years after in David's charter to Deer, where he is referred to as Cormac *de Turbrud*. Further, in the *Chartulary of Lindores*, the *de* prefix occurs in connection with the servile population, mention being made of a serf called John, son of Thomas de Malind (p. 90). This serf may have suffered degradation in rank for some offence against

The Celt in Scotland

the law. The territorial prefix, so far from indicating the presence of an alien settler, as the displacement theorists are apt to insist, merely indicates tenure by charter, except in possibly exceptional cases, such as that of the above-mentioned serf.

Another change in personal nomenclature took place in the territories granted to Anglo-Norman court favourites. The foreign surname of the new territorial magnate was frequently assumed by the Gaelic population of the neighbourhood. In this way, such non-Gaelic surnames as Comyn, Fraser, Gordon, Stewart, and so on, came to be borne by men of Celtic descent.

As regards the spoken language of the country, the English of Lothian and the Norman courtiers continued to speak their ancestral tongues. So did the alien settlers in the burghs, although north of the Forth, most of them knew Gaelic as well, except perhaps in Aberdeen, which was for long a somewhat foreign city. The only change among the Celtic population was among the comparative few brought into contact with these non-Celtic elements, the vast majority continuing to speak Gaelic. Most of the Gaelic nobility, especially those who came into frequent contact with the royal court, were probably bilingual, understanding, if not speaking, French, as well as their ancestral Gaelic. French was, in all probability, the normal language of David's court, as it certainly was that of Alexander III., otherwise there would have been no necessity for the bishop of St. Andrews to translate Latin formulas into French, as he did at Alexander's coronation. An English chronicler, Walter of Coventry, referring to the events

The Scottish Review

of the year 1212, says that the more recent kings of Scots, *i.e.* William and his immediate predecessors, profess to be Frenchmen in race, manners, language, and culture, and that they admit only Frenchmen to their friendship and service (*Memoriale* ii. 206). I may here note that certain isolated English words occur in the laws of David and his successors. These words, such as *herieth* and *blodewit* are the earliest known examples of the English language in any literary document produced in Scotland, although there are also a few English glosses in an old lease.

Gaelic, apparently, was the language of most of the leaders in William the Lion's invasion of England in 1173. Jordan Fantosme records that an English canon who "knew the language" (*saveit le language*) delivered a message to William (*Chronicles of Stephen, etc.*, iii. 265). If the language referred to had not been some language peculiar to Scotland, such as Gaelic, there would have been no point in making this remark. Even later, in the days of Alexander III., Gaelic was still in occasional use at the royal court, for both Fordun and Major record a picturesque incident which took place at the coronation of that monarch. A Scottish mountaineer, a man hoary with age, as Major says, approached the throne, saluted the king, and spoke these *Scottish* words (*hiis Scoticis verbis dicens*), as Fordun records:—"Beannachd do Rìgh Albann, Alexander Mac Alexander, mhic Uilleim, mhic Enri" and so on, giving the royal genealogy in detail as far back as the early, but fictitious, Gaelic royal settlers in Ireland and even further to the legendary Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, in token, as Mr. Robertson says,

The Celt in Scotland

" that the child of Alexander, son of William, the descendant and representative of the line of Alban's kings, ruled over the realm of Scotland by the right of long descent."

At a later period, French died out as the language of the court, being replaced by the speech of the Lothians, where the royal court most frequently resided. The influence of a royal court is seldom beneficial, and that of the Normanised kings of Scotland was certainly no exception to the general rule, for it played a potent part in bringing about the beginnings of the de-Celticisation of our country. Moderate in most respects as was the policy of David and successors, yet in its ultimate effects it was more disastrous than Flodden or Culloden. For the policy of encouraging foreigners in the church, the burghs, and elsewhere, and of encouraging foreign ideals, marked the real beginning of the long-drawn out concatenation of events by which Scotland ultimately became subjected to England. Undoubtedly there were weak points in the Gaelic system of government, but, with a little address, these could have been rectified without the introduction of an alien element. The full results, however, of David's false policy were not apparent until long after his death. In fact, it would be true to say that the results of his policy are manifesting themselves at the present day.

The foregoing brief and general sketch of the alien immigration into Scotland is sufficient to show that, whatever its political tendencies may have been, that movement was not in itself powerful enough to have more than very slight and partial effects on the racial

The Scottish Review

complexion of the country as a whole. We have also definite evidence to the effect that the basic Celtic population was little affected by the alien immigration outside Lothian. If it were not for the destruction of many Scottish records, especially the Gaelic and other early records, the proofs of the survival of which I speak would doubtless be far more numerous and convincing than they already are. Owing to the destruction of so many national records, we are necessarily obliged to be dependent to a large extent on odds and ends of information to be derived from charters, jury lists, and the works of the later English-speaking chroniclers and other writers in feudal Scotland. Such as it is, however, the evidence will appear sufficiently conclusive to any impartial mind. The proofs, which are mainly historical, may be roughly classified under the following heads :—(1) Names of Celtic peoples and individuals ; (2) The survival of the Gaelic language in the lowlands, and the existence of a distinct Celtic element in the English literature of the lowlands ; (3) The survival of Celtic customs and laws, and of Celtic officialdom ; (4) The testimony of the historians ; (5) The evidence of placenames ; (6) The evidence of anthropology.

As regards the first of these sections, it must be not a little disconcerting to advocates of the theory of displacement to find some of the Celtic peoples they have banished to the " Highlands " figuring in comparatively late legal documents. Malcolm IV. and William the Lion both addressed charters to the inhabitants of the lowland diocese of Glasgow concerning the payment of tithes. These charters make mention, not only of French and English, but also of Scots,

The Celt in Scotland

Galwegians, and Strathclyde Welsh (*Scoti, Galweijenses et Walenses*). If these three Celtic peoples had been driven into the "Highlands" in the reign of David or earlier, as is sometimes supposed, what sense could there possibly be in addressing charters to people who no longer existed in the area to which the charters applied? If it be contended that the three terms were employed in a purely geographical sense to designate the Anglo-Norman immigrants into the diocese of Glasgow, the obvious answer is that in that case there would have been no need to differentiate any of the inhabitants from the previously mentioned Norman-French, and English. We have an even later reference to the Strathclyde Welsh, for Edward I., the English King, attempted to abolish the laws of the *Brets* and Scots. This matter is considered in more detail below.

Again, as late as 1263, an inquisition was held concerning the lands of Stephen of Blantyre in Renfrewshire. The jurors, who decided that his son Patrick was the heir, must have been barons or freeholders, the social equals of the claimant. It is significant that, though Renfrew had been given as a barony to the Steward, these jurors all bore names wholly or partly Celtic, like Patrick de Blantyre himself. The names are as follows:—Gille Michel Mac Edolf, Malcolmus filius Galle, Donecanus Mac Edolf, Anegous de Aucheros, Dougal Mac Malcolm, Gillemor Mac Mohan, Patricius clericus, Patricius Pylche, Johannes Mac Galle, Gillecrist Mac Kessan, Dogal Mac Houtre (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 92). If these jurors were "Saxon" lowlanders it is not a little singular that all should have borne Gaelic patronymics. The late Mr. Andrew Lang, whom

The Scottish Review

it would be absurd to accuse of a pro-Celtic bias, has the following comment concerning the people of Renfrewshire :—" Where Anglo-Normans obtained lands in Moray or Renfrewshire, there seems to have been no displacement of the population ; though a Fitz-alan was dominant in Renfrewshire, the ' goodmen ' or gentry still bore Gaelic names, till territorial names—' of ' this or that place—came into use."

In 1260, an inquisition was held at Girvan. The jury was formed of three knights with territorial surnames, and the following :—Henry Mackenedy, Murdach Mackenedy, Molcal' de Duffglas, Dungal Mac Gilendres, Carbre Mackan, Alan de Denton, Alexander Mac Thorsteyn, Molcal' Albenach, and Murdach, son of Sumerleth (Bain's *Calendar of Documents*, i. 553). Mr. Bain also printed lists of Galwegian prisoners and others concerned in the War of Independence (*ibid.* ii. 253, 301). Nearly all the names are Gaelic. Lists of Dumfriesshire names, many of them obviously Celtic, have been printed in the *Register of the Privy Council* (Vols. iv., vi., etc.). Two Galloway and Dumfries lists have been recently reprinted in *Guth na Bliadhna* (Vol. xv., pp. 57, 58), so there is no need to give additional examples here.

Between the years 1238 and 1260, there was held an inquisition concerning the lands of Darleith in the Lennox. The jurors numbered twenty, nearly all of them bearing Celtic names such as Malcolmus bec, Mulmorus, son of Duncan ; John, son of Ferchard, and so on (*Calendar of Documents*, iv. 385).

The lists of names of those who were appointed to perambulate boundaries also demonstrate the survival

The Celt in Scotland

of the Celtic people in the lowlands. Twelve of the names in a perambulation, c. 1200, of the lands of Stobo in Peebleshire, are Gaelic, such as Gylmihhel, Gillamor and Gylcolm, the smith of Peebles. Strathclyde Welsh names also occur, such as Quas Chutbrit, Cos Mungho and Cos Patric, where the prefix has the same meaning as the Gaelic "gille" (*Celtic Review*, x. 71). Again, in 1246, there was an enquiry into the marches of Westere Fedale, apparently near Auchterarder. The following persons investigated the matter:—Patrick Ker, Simon of Fedale, Gillemury, son of the said Simon; Simon Derech, Gillebride, and Gillefalyne, the son of the said Gillebride; Gillecrist Mac Hatheny, Gillecrist Mac Moreherthach, Gille Ethueny, Gillecostentyn (*Chartulary of Lindores*, p. 26). In the year 1219, a perambulation was made between certain lands of the monastery of Aberbrothoc (Aberbroath) and the barony of Kynblathmund, by the following persons:—Gilpatrik MacEwen, Dunachy filius Gilpatrik, Malcolmus frater Thayni de Edevy, Gillecryst filius Ewen Costr', Gillecryst homes comitis de Anegus, Keraldus frater Ade judicis, Matheum filius Mathei filii Dusyth de Conan. There were also present, Hugo de Cambrun (vicecomes de Forfar), Anegus son of the Count, Gilbryd de Anegus, Robertus de Inuerkelethir, W. de monte alto, Adam de Neveth, Douenaldus filius Makbeth Macywar, Johannes abbot of Brechin, Morgund his son, Adam de Bonuill, Robertus de Rossyn, Duncanus de Fernevel, Adam the seneschal of Aberbrothoc, Thomas filius Roberti filii Ade Gar', Gilys Thayn de Edevy, Nicholaus braciator regis, Rogerus marus episcopi Brechynensis, Walterus de

The Scottish Review

Baillol (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 82). In this, as in many other similar lists, it will be noticed that a few Norman names occur side by side with the names of the members of the Gaelic aristocracy, showing that Gaidheal and Gall met on equal terms. In the two lists just given, two names call for particular mention, those of Gille-mury and Morgund. Their respective fathers had non-Gaelic names, Simon and John. This shows to some extent that the possession of a non-Gaelic name is by no means necessarily a proof of non-Gaelic descent. In all probability, Simon and John were themselves Celts, as the Anglo-Norman interlopers were not in the habit of giving Celtic names to their children, a matter in which they resemble many of those who boast their "Highland" descent to-day. The adoption of territorial surnames and non-Celtic Christian names helped to conceal descent, intentionally or otherwise.

A perambulation of certain lands in Fifeshire in 1231 is recorded in the *Chartulary of Dunfermline*. With possibly one exception, the names given are all Gaelic. Somewhat earlier there was a perambulation of the lands of Balfeith in the Mearns, by men of the lowlands of Angus and Mearns. Here again, the names are Gaelic (*Chartulary of Arbroath*, p. 70). Other examples could easily be given, but those I have given are sufficient to show that the theory of the expulsion of the Celt from the lowlands is an absurd fiction. Even in the lowlands of Moray, where feudal tenure had been introduced as the solitary exception to David's usual policy of "ca' canny," we find Gaelic names in the lists of jurors and witnesses, although here the native element is often outnumbered by foreigners.

The Celt in Scotland

The evidence derived from the royal charters gives no support to the belief in widespread displacement. It is well known that David I. delighted to have around him his Norman favourites, and for that reason we should naturally expect that most of the names in his charters would be those of the privileged alien minority. Lothian charters predominate, and among these, in view of what has been already said about that province, but few names of undoubted Celts are to be found, though many are open to doubt. In spite of David's partiality for Norman incomers, it is worthy of remark that Celtic names do occur in some cases in connection with the charters relating to other parts of lowland Scotland. For example, in a charter dated about 1140, David granted to the church of St. Kentigern at Glasgow the tithe of his *can* in animals and pigs from Strathgryfe, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick. The charter was addressed to English, Scots, and Galwegians, a form of address which shows, like that of the later charters already mentioned, that the two last mentioned Celtic peoples had not been dispossessed at the time mentioned. It was witnessed by William Cumin, Hugo de Moreville, Fergus of Galloway, Hugo Briton, Walter Fitz-Alan, Alwin Mac Archil, Radulf, son of Dunegal, and Dunenald his brother (*Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 95, 96). Alwin also figures in the Book of Deer. Fergus of Galloway and the two sons of Dunegal are also mentioned, along with other Celtic witnesses, in the grant of Partick to the Church of Glasgow (*ibid.* 85). Again, in David's charter to Dunfermline, c. 1128, there is a list of nineteen witnesses, half of whom bore Celtic names (*ibid.* 61-63), and in a

The Scottish Review

later charter to the same place, we find the names of Duncan, earl of Fife ; Alwyn, son of Arkil ; Ewen marescallus, Gillecolumus mac Chimpethin, Macbeth mac Torfin, and Mereuin, son of Colbain, with as many Norman names (*ibid.* 167-171).

In 1128, David ordered that a complaint made by the monks of St. Serfs, concerning a supposed theft of the lands of Kirkness, should be heard by Constantine, Earl of Fife ; Dufgal, son of Mocche ; and Meldoinneth, son of Machedath (*ibid.* 67). The witnesses or compurgators were Duftah, priest and abbot ; Sarran, son of Sodelne ; Eugenius the monk ; Douinalde nepos Leod, Cathan senex, and Morrehat, who is described as a man of venerable age and Irish. Among those present was Malbeath, thane of Falkland. Moreover, the lay witnesses to David's well-known charter to the Abbey of Deer are all Gaelic.

In 1154, Malcolm IV. granted a charter to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline. The lay witnesses include Alwyn, son of Arkil ; the Celtic Earls of Dunbar, Strathern, Fife, Marr, Atholl, and Angus, and about as many Normans. Ten years later, he granted another charter to the church of the same name at Scone, witnessed by the following laymen :— Earl Duncan, Gilbrid of Angus, Malcolm of Atholl, Gillecrisp of Meneteth ; Gilbert, son of Earl Ferteth ; Merlswayn, Adam, son of the Earl of Angus ; Gillandreas, son of Alfwyn ; Ewayn vicecomes of Scone, M. filius gillys, William de Lindesay, William de Hay, Galfridus de Cunyngisburch, Nefius son of William Kyneth, vicecomes of Perth (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 52,* 53*).

The Celt in Scotland

On the whole, however, the names in the inquisitions and perambulation lists are far better guides to the political connections of the nobility than are the names in the royal charters, for in the case of the former the court had not nearly as many opportunities for the exercise of its pro-Norman prejudices. It must also be remembered that the Norman adventurers frequently married the daughters and heiresses of the Gaelic nobility, and that therefore the offspring of such unions would be only semi-Norman by descent.

The lists of burghal names will illustrate the movement previously mentioned, *i.e.* that of the Celtic rural population into the towns. A list of Aberdeen merchants of 1406 contains many Celtic names, a fact of much significance when we recollect that burghal Aberdeen at a somewhat earlier date was largely in the hands of foreign traders. A list of the brethren of the Gild Court of Ayr, of the year 1431, or slightly later, contains seventy-seven names, of which about twenty-five are obviously wholly or partly Celtic, such as Patrik McMartyne, Fergusius Kennedy, and so on. Some others, Glovar, Wrycht, Chepman, Mason, etc., illustrate the tendency to the assumption of trade names, to which I have already called attention. Allowing for the anglicisation of personal names, the list may be regarded as showing a very strong Celtic element (*Archaeological and Historical Collections of Ayr and Wigton*, i. 228-230). The burghal lists fully bear out Mr. Robertson's contention that so far from the "old Scottish race" in the rural districts having been driven into the Highlands, it would seem rather that a vast number of Scottish Celts had been absorbed by the civic population (*Early Kings*, ii. 488).

The Scottish Review

The names of slaves or serfs, which are occasionally to be found in the charters, are also generally Celtic, demonstrating that this section of the population was no more alien by descent than the rest. For example, in 1126, David gave three slaves to Dunfermline, named Ragewin, Gillepatric, and Ulchil (*Early Scottish Charters*, p. 56). William the Lion gave another called Gillandreas, to the same church. In 1258, Earl Malise gave Gilmory Makgillendes to the Abbey of Inchaffray, to which establishment also, twenty years later, John Cumyn gifted Gillecristas Rothe, son of Gyllehtheny (*Charters of Inchaffray Abbey*, pp. 77, 100-1). Another example may be given, which is of interest as illustrating a fortunately obsolete social custom. Richard de Morvill, constable of the King of Scots, gave to Henry Sinclair (de Sancto Claro), for the sum of three marks, "Edmund the son of Bonde, and Gillemichel his brother, their sons and daughters, their progeny and heirs." (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 84).

The lowland personal names of the present day are very largely Celtic. The late Sheriff Ferguson of Kinnmundy, in commenting on the Registrar-General's report of 1864, pointed out that one-half of the fifty commonest Scottish surnames were either recognised clan names, or else were names the form of which indicated their Celtic origin. The remaining half included six formed by the addition of "son" and several, such as Smith, which may possibly be translations from the Gaelic. Further, fifteen of the thirty-nine commonest male Christian names are undoubtedly Gaelic, twelve may be either Gaelic or Teutonic, and the remainder give no definite trace of origin (*Celtic Review*,

The Celt in Scotland

i. 329). Among common lowland Celtic surnames familiar to everybody, I may mention Bain, Dow, Ferguson, Glass, Gow, Grierson, Kennedy, Kerr, Orr, Scott, and Wallace. Some of these are adjectival, being but slightly altered forms of the Gaelic originals. Concerning the penultimate name, Mr. Robertson remarked that "the first ancestor of the great border clan of Scot must have stood out among the Saxons of the Lothians as *Scotus*, the Gael." John Major, writing four hundred years ago, said that the name Wallace was one of the commonest in Kyle (*Historia Majoris Britanniae*, Book iv., chap. 14). That name, like its variant Welsh, indicates a Welsh descent, either from the Welsh of Strathclyde, or from emigrants from "Wales." Other common lowland surnames, outwardly English, such as Black and Whyte, are, in some cases merely translations of the corresponding Gaelic adjectives. Names such as Dómhnull *Dubh*, for example, are familiar to every Gaelic-speaking Scot.

We now turn to the consideration of the second link in our chain of evidence for the survival of the Celtic population in the lowlands, viz., the existence of the Gaelic language in the south and east of Scotland till a comparatively late period, subsequent, in all cases, to the supposed expulsion of the Celt. It cannot be seriously argued that these Gaelic-speaking people were Teutons who had learned the language, for lowland Gaelic, at the time in question, was receding, not advancing, or even standing still. Under such circumstances, especially in bygone days, a language does not gain many fresh converts.

An early reference to the use of Gaelic in the low-

The Scottish Review

lands is found in the pages of *The Actis and Deidis of the Illustere and Vailyeand Campioun Schir William Wallace Knight of Ellerslie*, by Henry the Minstrel, better known as Blind Harry. Harry tells us that Wallace and his friends were one day walking in the streets of Lanark, when they were accosted by an English soldier, "the starkast man that Hesylyrg than knew," who mockingly addressed them in the following curious mixture of Gaelic, French, and English:—

"Dewgar, gud day, bone Senyhour and gud morn

.....
Gud deyn, dawch Lard, *bach lowch banyoch a de.*"

(Book VI., lines 132-140).

I have italicised the two Gaelic phrases. They are both much disguised by Harry's execrable spelling. The late Prof. Donald Mackinnon identified the last greeting with the Gaelic "beannachd Dé" (the blessing of God), and the preceding one with "bàch laoch" (furious hero). The word, "bachlach" occurs in the old Gaelic tale *Fled Bricrend* (p. 122). Dr. George Henderson suggested "clodhopper" as an English equivalent, while Windisch translated it as "a rustic." The adjective "bàch" is now obsolete. The first printed edition of Harry's poem changed *bach lowch* into *ballauch* (Gaelic *balach*), formerly meaning "a sturdy fellow and specifically applicable to the hero, especially if a shade of disrespect or familiarity is intended." The two French phrases are "dewgar" (Dieu garde) and "bone senyhour" (bon seigneur), while "dawch lard" means a "lazy laird." It seems, therefore, that the Englishman's remarks formed another curious mixture as regards meaning, some being

The Celt in Scotland

complimentary and others very much the reverse. Quite likely, he did not know the meaning of the words he employed.

The possible objection that Harry may have invented this interesting incident is really of no weight in connection with the subject of this article. For his own credit, Harry would invent nothing which was *inherently improbable* in itself, as regards a place so well known as Lanark, and concerning the position of Gaelic as a spoken language, a matter within the knowledge of almost everyone at that time. Further, the ascription of two Gaelic phrases to a common English soldier naturally suggests that such phrases must have been in fairly general use in Lanark, or in such other parts of the lowlands as this soldier may have heard Gaelic spoken. It must be remembered that the English army had not invaded the "Highlands" at this time. As a matter of fact, the greeting, "bean-nachd Dé," seems to have been well known in the lowlands, even at a later time, for John Major tells us that the morning greeting of the "Irishman" is "vennoka die" (*Historia*, Book i., ch. 9), and the lowland writer of the *Auchinleck Chronicle* (p. 50) says that, one day in August, 1452, George of Lawder, bishop of Argyll, accompanied by some priests, was hailed in "erische," i.e. Gaelic, by two Highland Gaels, who said "bannachadee." About the same time, Sir Richard Holland uses the same phrase in his *Buke of the Howlat*, written in the lowlands of Moray (Amour's *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, p. 74).

To this day, northern tradition credits both Wallace and Bruce with a knowledge of Gaelic. In Ayrshire.

The Scottish Review

and Galloway, as Prof. Mackinnon says, Gaelic was common for centuries after Wallace's time, and it would be inexplicable indeed if these two men, mainly Celtic by descent, spending their early years in a Gaelic-speaking district and associating to the last with Gaelic-speaking men, had not themselves been Gaelic speakers. Wallace was also in the habit of wearing the Gaelic dress, for Blind Harry describes him as being arrayed in "ane Ersche mantill it war thi kynd to wer," and as having "rouch rewlyngis" on his feet (Book i., lines 217, 219). These last were shoes of untanned skin to which the hair still adhered. I may here note that they were also common in Gaelic Ayrshire at a later date, for Dunbar, in his *Flyting with Kennedie*, refers to the "ruch rilling" (line 243). Wyntoun makes mention of "rewelynys" (*Orygynale Cronykil*, vi. 49), and Laurence Minot also refers to the "rughfute rivelings" of the Scots. This form of footgear was evidently similar to the "cuaran" of the Gael.

In 1434, an Englishman of the name of Hendry visited the lowlands of Moray and Aberdeen and found the Gaelic language still commonly spoken there. In 1449, Parliament passed an Act directed against somers, masterful beggars, "bardis and sic lik utheris rynnaris aboute" (*Acts Parl. Scot.* ii. 36). The use of the word "bardis" probably indicates that wandering Gaelic poets were among the objects of the Parliament's wrath. Such bards would not be likely to wander about the lowlands if their language was not to some extent understood. The bards and beggars, if they had nought to live upon, as the act says, were, when

The Celt in Scotland

captured, to be nailed to the "trone" by the ears, or to some other "tre." Afterwards, their ears were to be cut off, and they were to be banished the country, and "hangit" if they returned again. These drastic measures were apparently ineffectual, for, eight years later, another act was passed directing that an inquisition be made of sorners, bards, masterful beggars, or "fenyait fulys" (*ibid.* ii. 51).

Holland's *Buke of the Howlat*, contains a stanza with several Gaelic words, including the "banachadee" mentioned above. Then follow two lines of what is apparently Gaelic, but of which the sense is obscured by the execrable spelling. Indeed, the lines in question perhaps consisted of single words and phrases known to Holland, and strung together at random. Some of the words, such as "gluntow" and "macmory" bear an easily recognisable resemblance to orthodox Gaelic. Then come six Gaelic personal names, followed by six other common names, "the schenachy" (*seanchaidh*), and so on, which, it has been suggested, are the names of current songs or poems. This poem of Holland's was written in the forest of "Ternway," now Darnaway, in the "myddis of Murraye," in which province he probably picked up the phrases and words just mentioned, for Gaelic was the common speech of the people, as the Englishman Hendry had found.

About 1505, William Dunbar wrote the well-known *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie*. Walter Kennedy was the third son of the first Lord Kennedy, heritable bailie of Carrick. He was well acquainted with Gaelic, then common in Carrick, on which account Dunbar abuses him as an "Irsche brybour baird" and an

The Scottish Review

"Ersch katherane with thy polk breik and rilling," from which we may infer that Kennedy's partiality for Gaelic extended to articles of dress. Kennedy is represented as speaking English with a Gaelic *blas*, for Dunbar says "thy trechour tung hes tane ane heland strynd" *i.e.* a Highland strain. To Dunbar's abuse of Gaelic, Kennedy replied with dignity and good sense:—

"Bot it suld be all trew Scottis mennis lede
(*i.e.* speech);

It was the gud langage of this land,
And Scotia it causit to multiply and sprede."

(*Dunbar's Poems*, ii. 11-29).

Between the years 1563 and 1566, an English official drew up a military report on the districts of Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, with reference to the possibility of their occupation by an invading English army. He described Carrick as follows:—"Inhabited by therle of Cassills and his frendes, a barrant cuntree but for bestiall: the people for the moste part speketht erishe" (*Archaeological and Historical Collections of Ayr and Wigton*, iv. 17). In another description of Carrick, and other parts of Scotland, in 1577, also compiled for English military purposes, it was remarked that "the people's speech is mingled with the English and Irish, not far from Carrickfergus" (*Calendar of Scottish Papers*, v. 257). The same writer noted that the people of the Earl of Atholl and of "Camel," Earl of Argyll, also spoke Irish.

About the same time, George Buchanan commented on the fact that a great part of Galloway still used a Celtic language (*ea magna ex parte patrio sermone adhuc*

The Celt in Scotland

utilur) (*Historia*, Book ii.). Buchanan was born at Killearn in Stirlingshire, in 1508, and Gaelic was his mother tongue. At that time, Gaelic was also spoken in the Garioch district of Aberdeenshire. In 1553, the third edition of a book by John Vaus or Vascus was published, after the author's death, the first edition having been published in 1522. It mentions the statutes and laws of the Grammar School of Aberdeen, and is entitled *Rudimenta puerorum in artem grammaticalem*. One of the rules is to the effect that the students were only allowed to speak Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Gaelic. In 1541, James V. and his queen, Mary of Lorraine, visited Aberdeen. We are informed that "ther was exercise and disputationes in all kinds of sciences in the college and sculis, with diverse oratiounes in Greke, Latine, and uther languages." No doubt, Gaelic was one of these other languages, in view of what has just been said concerning the regulations.

In the opening years of the seventeenth century, Sir Thomas Craig wrote:—"I myself remember the time when the inhabitants of the shires of Stirling and Dumbarton spoke pure Gaelic" (*De Unione Regnorum Britannicæ Tractatus*, p. 288). A few years later, in 1618, John Taylor, the "Water Poet," visited Scotland, and afterwards recorded his impressions in the *Pennyles Pilgrimage*. He says:—"I did go through a country called Glaneske . . . At night I came to a lodging in the Lard of Eggels Land (*i.e.* Edzell), where I lay at an Irish house, the folkes not being able to speake scarce any English" (p. 134, edition of 1630). Later, he refers to the "Highlandmen, who for the most part speake nothing but Irish."

The Scottish Review

According to the Rev. James Fraser, the minister of Wardlaw, Gaelic was held "in esteem"—a delightfully vague phrase—at the court of Charles II. Comparing that court with Malcolm Canmore's, he says:—"Formerly, Latin and Irish was the language spoken at our Scots courts, now a nursery of all languages, arts, and sciences . . . and yet the Irish still in esteem at court. Franciscus Fraiser was master of the languages at the court; the Scots who spoke onely Irish called him Frishalach Francach" (*i.e.* Frisealach Frangach) (*Wardlaw MS.*, p. 38). The celebrated bard, Iain Lom, was appointed Gaelic poet-laureate to Charles II. I may here note that an earlier Stewart king, James IV., of gallant memory, is credited with a knowledge of Gaelic by Don Pedro de Ayala, the ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella (*Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, i. 169). According to the late Sir Patrick Grant, it was a Highland tradition that "ancient Gaelic phrases of installation" were employed at the Scottish coronation of Charles I. (Dr. Norman Moore's *Medicine in the British Isles*, p. 149.). This late, uncontemporary evidence is not very satisfactory, but, in view of the position of Gaelic at the courts of James IV. and Charles II. as recorded by the contemporary witnesses already mentioned, it is quite possible that this tradition reflects the actual facts.

In the eighteenth century, Gaelic was the language of the people in the Ochil hills. Again, about 1792, the minister of Dron wrote as follows in the *Old Statistical Account*:—"Gaelic . . . is said to have been the common language not only here . . . but even through the whole country of Fife, not above two or three

The Celt in Scotland

generations back. An anecdote communicated by a gentleman . . . gives countenance to this report. 'By a letter,' he says, 'which I had from Sir James Foulis of Colinton, Baronet, a number of years ago, he informed me that when young, he had it from an old man who spoke Gaelic, that even in his time it was almost the universal language of Fife.' " This statement takes us back to the close of the seventeenth, or the beginning of the eighteenth, century. About the year 1730, Edward Burt, who is sometimes given the title of " Captain " on insufficient authority, wrote as follows concerning Gaelic in Fifeshire :—" The Irish tongue was, I may say, lately universal even in many parts of the Lowlands, and I have heard it from several in Edinburgh that, before the Union, it was the language of the shire of Fife . . . ; and, as a proof they told me, after that event (the Union), it became one condition of an indenture when a youth of either sex was to be bound on the Edinburgh side of the water, that the apprentice should be taught the English tongue " (*Letters* i. 158-9, 5th edition).

This statement of Burt's is undoubtedly exaggerated. He probably misunderstood his informants. The statement may be divided into two parts, one concerning the alleged prevalence of Gaelic, and another concerning the alleged ignorance of English. The former is in accordance with the statements in the *Old Statistical Account* already quoted, and may be taken as substantially correct, although, no doubt, there were many in the coastal towns who were unacquainted with Gaelic, but who yet formed a small minority of the total population of the county. As

The Scottish Review

regards the latter part of the statement, it would be absurd to believe, as Burt suggests, that English was practically an unknown language in Fifeshire in the eighteenth century. It was probably the predominant language in the coastal towns. On the other hand, the inland population, especially in the hilly districts and others difficult of access, may very likely have been unacquainted with English to a large extent, and it is to such that Burt's remarks concerning indentures probably applied. It is, of course, possible that the "Union" that Burt's informants had in mind was the regal Union of 1603, and not the later parliamentary "Union." If that supposition be correct, Burt's statements would not require so much qualification.

The last strongholds of Gaelic in the lowlands were Galloway and Carrick, districts which may yet be the place of its resurrection, to use an old Gaelic figure of speech. The men of the "Highland Host," on authority which is not contemporary, but which is probably none the less accurate, are said to have conversed in Gaelic with the Galloway Covenanters whom they were sent to hold in check. The Rev. James Porteous stated that he was informed by a Ballantrae farmer, a member of his congregation, that in the time of his (the farmer's) grandfather, probably about the beginning of the eighteenth century, Gaelic was still spoken to some extent in Glenapp in Carrick (*An Gaidheal*, v. 254). This is corroborated by Father Innes, who, writing in 1729, said that he had heard that a language which was not English was still in use in the remoter parts of Galloway (*Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, p. 41).

The Celt in Scotland

Dr. A. Trotter said the northern Gaels found Gaelic spoken in Galloway in the '15 and the '45 (*East Galloway Sketches*). The late Dr. Sprat, the minister of North Berwick, said that when he went to Galloway as a boy, he used to hear it said that Gaelic had died out in Glenapp about 1750, and also that about half a century ago there was an elder in the Free Church of Ballantrae whose father had known Gaelic (*Celtic Review*, i. 324). About 1780, Mrs. Trotter, born near Ballantrae, gave a long list of Gaelic words in common use in that place in her childhood. Presumably, Gaelic was still spoken at Barr in Carrick in the late eighteenth century, an advertisement for a Gaelic school teacher appearing in 1762 (*Guth na Bliadhna*, xiv. 160). The late Dr. Alexander Carmichael said that Gaelic was the ordinary language of the parents of the late Prof. Alexander Murray, of Edinburgh University, a native of the parish of Minnigaff (*Scotia* i. 35). This would be in the last half of the eighteenth century. Some Gaelic words are in use in Galloway to-day. For instance, a knife is sometimes called a "skinny," obviously the Gaelic "sgian." Mr. Andrew Donaldson gave other examples in the pages of this *Review* in 1914. The Celtic numerals, as used in counting-out games and in the scoring of sheep, have also been recorded from Ayrshire and other parts of the lowlands in the present generation.

Thus Gaelic survived as a spoken tongue in this part of southern Scotland till a century and a half ago. The tradition of its wide range and extensive usage in the lowlands was known to many. In 1751, Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, the great Jacobite bard,

The Scottish Review

published his *Eiseirigh na Seann Chànain Albannaich* (Resurrection of the old Scottish Tongue), in which he referred to the former universal use of that language throughout Scotland, both north and south.

In every generation since the general disappearance of the language from the lowlands, there have been a few Southern Celts who have cultivated some acquaintance with the Gaelic tongue. To-day, many of them may be found in Gaelic classes, some as teachers, and others as pupils. Few in numbers though they may be, they are yet sufficient to maintain the Gaelic succession in the south, until the day comes, as it surely will if the people of Scotland do but their duty, when the language of Columcille and of William Wallace shall again be spoken, not only in the glens of the north, but also in the fields and on the hill-sides, in the towns and the villages of the south and east—in fine, by the Celtic people of the Scottish Lowlands in general.

H. C. MAC NEACAIL.

(*To be continued*).



The Auld Hoose

*" O the Auld Hoose, the Auld Hoose,
What tho' thy rooms were wee,
O, kind hearts were dwelling there,
And bairnies fu' o' glee."*



WITHIN the bounds of Baile-nan-Cnoc there are not a few historic landmarks, but of these none is richer in association than the Auld Hoose. Doubtless, some there are, like Carra-chnoc-breaca, which are older, and therefore in some degree more venerable; but for the most part these other landmarks stand apart from the life of the people, cold and unfeeling, and do not in any sense symbolise their manifold activities or respond, as it were, to their simple joys and sorrows.

Close contact with successive generations of men and women had endowed the Auld Hoose (long before I knew it) with qualities which were almost human, and in conformity with that character it may be said of it that it had enjoyed its prime of life, and made the best of old age. At long last, however, the time came when it waxed senile and fell, a lifeless ruin.

The matter of the age of the Auld Hoose, though productive of many a lengthy and keen debate, has never been exactly determined. The more cautious are of opinion that the Auld Hoose was the pride of the Middle District for at least one hundred years. The

The Scottish Review

more imaginative, however, are quite prepared to add a century to its age. On this, however, all are agreed, that the Auld Hoose has braved the storms of so many winters, and has seen so many strong men come and go, that it is entitled to be spoken of in terms of the utmost respect, almost indeed in those of veneration. If there are some who would ambitiously add to its years, that doubtless is because they would seek to add to its honours, but nobody has been irreverent enough to suggest that the local centenarian, Dòmhnall na Firinn, lied when he affirmed a vague recollection of having witnessed its foundation. Suffice it, then, to say that in antiquarian interest the Auld Hoose vies with that interesting relic of Feudal days, Caisteal-nan-arm, but deep down in the hearts of the people the former holds a place to which the latter can never aspire. Nor is the fame of the Auld Hoose by any means confined to the narrow limits of Baile-nan-Cnoc. Sojourners and travellers who care mighty little for historic ruins, and who are entirely indifferent as to Feudal history, have carried the fame of the Auld Hoose and its departed hospitality far and wide throughout the length and breadth of Innse-Ghall.

Though the Auld Hoose has harboured ghosts and legends innumerable, yet its association with the uncommon and the uncanny is not its chief claim to distinction. To say truth, the Auld Hoose has had a long, and, for the most part, honourable connection with men of flesh and bone, men through whose veins the blood coursed on festive occasions fast and furiously. In its public-house days, the spacious parlour was the scene of many a brawl, when markets, auctions, and

The Auld Hoose

funerals drew the men of the north and south districts in force to Baile-nan-Cnoc. Hard by was the Burial-ground of Dùn Phàdrùig, and on funeral days the mourners, more especially if they came from a distant village, would resort to the Auld Hoose when their own supply of liquor was exhausted, and there they would do honour to the dead by testifying to the vitality of the living. For many generations had the rites of honourable burial at Dùn Phàdrùig required that at least one blow should be struck in honour of the departed. Plainly, there were giants on the earth in those days! There, too, the soldier returned from the wars of Boney found refreshment for mind and body. Many a time did the hospitable and substantial walls of the Auld Hoose resound to the pipes of Calum Muilleir, now come back from the low countries after losing his right leg at Waterloo. Later on, during the tenancy of Lachlan Ileach, from whose time the history as distinct from the folk-lòre of the Auld Hoose may be said to date, the building became a farm-house and inn combined. Tradition states that Lachlann's ways were ingratiating in the extreme, the main feature of his conversation consisting of a lavish use of the epithet "A Ghaoil" (My love). However, it is doubtful if Lachlann's heart was quite as bland and child-like as his speech would lead the unwary to believe. Sundry ancients of Baile-nan-Cnoc delight to recall with glee how he would inveigle the thirsty wayfarer into his bar, and thereafter oblige him to pay for the leth-bhodach, which he himself had largely helped to consume. Indirectly, however, Lachlann paid the penalty of his sins. Partly to show his contempt of

The Scottish Review

superstition, but mainly, it is to be feared, from greed of arable land, he dug up the Sithein Mór, thus grievously outraging local sentiment, in whose eyes the home of the fairies was ground well-nigh as sacred as the graves of their own fore-fathers. Within two years after the deed was done, the most of Lachlann's stock perished, and he himself was driven forth, obliged to spend the remainder of his days as a labourer in the south country. So, if we may believe the voice of local gossip, was justice done, and outraged sentiment avenged.

Internally, the Auld Hoose was about eighty feet long, and fifteen wide. Its walls were fully six feet thick, the space between the outer and inner ones being filled up with earth. A dense covering of thatch, resting on a stout framework of Skye oak, afforded ample protection from the wild sou-westers which make these parts their playground. The clay floor, ever somewhat uneven, had been allowed to become more so by reason of the local prejudice against digging up old floors for fear of disinterring the fevers of past generations. Whiles, the house would be flooded to a depth of several inches, by reason of the "Tighinn-fodha," which phenomenon was due to the fact that the house was situated at the foot of two hills wedged closely together, and when it rained (as it is prone to do in the parts about Baile-nan-Cnoc) the water, flowing down the hollow between the two hills, would form a loch hard by the back wall of the house, and nothing could persuade that loch that it had not as much right to a lodging within the Auld Hoose as any other wayfarer.

The Auld Hoose

Still, for my three brothers (the youngest of whom now sleeps his last sleep east of Arras), as for myself, yon was the Golden Age, and the Auld Hoose the Palace of Heart's Desire. In the late spring and early summer we roamed the moors in search of pee-weeps' eggs. The summer saw us accompanying the herd, whilst in the autumn we were sent forth to the harvest to help to gather in the corn. But it is the long winter nights we passed within the snug shelter of the Auld Hoose that conjure up my liveliest recollections. Well do I mind how the neighbours used to crowd in o' nights to hear my uncle—"Angus of the Tales"—reading from a Gaelic history of Scotland moving stories of Bruce and Wallace and the great Montrose, or to listen to him reciting the adventures of Prince Charles Edward, according as they are set down in the late Dr. Norman Macleod's *Bliadhna Thearlaich*. Nor would the legends of Fionn, Gaul, and Diarmad be forgotten. Aye, a passing fine reader of Gaelic was "Angus of the Tales"; nor was the same less celebrated for his singing of the wild war-songs of Mac Codrum, and the stirring hunting lays of Donnachadh Bàn. Ordinarily, the spell of the tales, conjoined with the rare charm of the reciter's voice, sufficed to keep us youngsters quiet, but whenever the boyish flesh threatened to rebel against the restrictions imposed by the bardic spirit, my uncle's stern command to "Silence!" never failed to preserve the peace among the potentially unruly members of his audience. Thus rebuked, feckless youth would draw yet closer to itself on the form set apart for its accommodation near the fire, or cast itself at full length on the floor. With my

The Scottish Review

head cradled in my two hands, my back to the floor, and my legs crossed, often would I lay watching the firelight playing fitfully among the blackened rafters, until, gradually, I lapsed into oblivion alike of the tale and of the Tale-teller, only to awaken to find the light of yet another day streaming through the narrow windows of the Auld Hoose.

We boys much admired Uncle Angus, but mixed with our regard for him was not a little awe. One there was, however, that we not only greatly admired but tenderly loved—one whose dear form, viewed through the gathering mists of the ever-growing years, seems now strangely shadowy and other-worldly. Often do I mind the tales I used to hear of her when a lad: of her generous gifts of meal to the village poor, and of her rebuking Caristina-na-Tota (the saddest female rake in all Baile-nan-Cnoc) for persistent cursing and swearing. One vision, however, of the many that haunt my waxing years will survive when all the others shall have passed away. It is that of the dear object of my waking dreams, sitting up in bed, in evident pain, while kind friends from the south district are standing around doing their best to conceal their tears. Then the vision fades, and in its place I seem to feel protecting hands about me, and to hear the sympathetic voices of women folk calling me "dilleachan bochd" (poor little orphan). But in my grief I know that the angel of the brown hair and the blue eyes has departed for ever, and that the sweet light of the simple community of the Auld Hoose was gone out.

UISDEAN LAING.

Priomh-Riaghailtean do na Ceiltich



HA nì faoin no suarach prìomh-riaghailtean a tharruing am mach às leth Stàide. Is fìrinn so a fhuair America am mach air cosd, ach nach do thuig Sasunn riamh fhathasd. Thuige so bha gach oidhirp a thug Sasunn lapach agus mì-shona. Is toigh leatha gach cinneach air am faigh i cothrom a chumail foidhpe, chan ann le coibhneas agus deagh-dhean, ach le ainneart agus liodairt. Bha e a' feuchainn ri spéis na h-Albann a chosnadh le bhi a' losgadh eaglaisean, agus a' buntainn o'n t-sluagh an aodaich agus an càpain. Mur bith neart a claidhimh chan fhanadh na cinnich an taice rithe fad aon seachdain. Is i an éiginn a mhàin a tha 'gan cumail fo chis.

Seallamaid air cor na h-Eireann. Is iomadh latha o'n thuirt Uilleam T. Stead gu'm b'ise sàil Achilles na h-ìmpireachd aig Sasunn. "Our failure to win the allegiance of Ireland," deir esan, "is the most fatal element in the sum of blunders which are transferring the leadership of race to our sons beyond the seas." Briathran a b' fhèrinniche cha do chuireadh riamh a sìos air paipear. Is mòr an t-eadar-dhealachadh a th'eadar modh-riaghlaidh Shasuinn agus modh-riaghlaidh America. O cheann ùine is lugha na trì fichead bliadhna bha na Stàidean Aonaichte air an riasladh 'nan dà earrainn leis a' chogadh

The Scottish Review

shìobhalta a b'fhuileachdaiche a chunnaic na linn-tean so. Ré chóig bliadhna bha an cinneach foghainteach a' toirt aire buileach do chath agus do iorghuill. B'e deireadh na h-iomairt gu'n do bhuadh-aich an Ceann Tuath. Chaidh an Ceann Deas a mhilleadh, a liodairt, agus a bhruthadh; agus, an uair a chaill e gach misneach agus dòchas, thòisich e air sìth a thagradh. Bha na Stàidean a theann ri briseadh air falbh air an co-éigneachadh gu tilleadh do'n Aonadh le faobhar na béigneid. Ach a dh'aindeoin gach nì a thachair—a dh'aindeoin gach cuimhneachan dòbhaidh, a dh'aindeoin muillion de uaignean san robh gaisgich air an adhlacadh, agus a dh'aindeoin gach gamhlas a bha nàdurra bhi air altrum leis an dà bhuidhinn—chaidh càirdeas ùr a nasgadh gu h-ealamh air tàilleamh Féin-Riaghlaidh. An uair a bhris cogadh am mach eadar America agus an Spàinnnd, cha robh dream bu deise a leum a dhion na brataiche spangaich na mic nam fearaibh a dhoirt am fuil, le Davis agus Lee, a chum an t-Aonadh a thilgeadh bun-os-ceann. Chan eil iochdarain aindeoineach aig America—chan eil a h-aon, eadhoin sa' Cheann Deas. An America tha réite, còrdadh, agus sìth eadar an Tuath agus an Deas. Anns na h-eileanan so againn-ne dh'fhairtlich air Sasunn gu buileach an nì is lugha a chosnadh o Eirinn ach geur-fhuath agus naimhdeas. Tha so a' leigeadh ris air dhòigh anabarrach riochdail am mùthadh, a thaobh càil agus aignidhean sluagh-iuileach, a th'eadar co-fhlaitheachd America agus "impireachd" Shasuinn. Is e iuchair na ceiste gu'm bheil na h-Americanaich ag aideach gu saor

Priomh-Riaghailtean do na Ceiltich

pailt gur còir gach riaghladh a bhi air a ghiulan air aghaidh le cead na muinntir a th'air an riaghladh. Is fìrinn-shuidhichte so nach eil air a h-aideach ach le dara leth nan Sasunnach. Anns an t-seachdamh-linn-deug bha na rìghrean Stiubhartach an geall air uachdaranachd iomlan, agus cha deachaidh an spiorad sin a mhùchadh gu buileach an 1688. Chaidh a bheothachadh gu comharraichte san ochdamh-linn-deug fo bhuaidh Sheorais III., agus b'e a thachair gu'n do chaill Sasunn, air a thàilleamh, a seilbh agus a h-àrd ùghdarras an America. Tha mi a' deanamh luaidh air na cùisean so, chan ann a chionn gu'm bheil daimh dhlùth eadar iad agus na ceistean a th'againn fo ar n-aire ach a chionn gu'm bheil iad 'nan rabhadh dhuinn ann a bhi deilbh prìomh-riaghailtean às leth na stàid ùir Albannaich. Tha iad a' leigeadh ris gu'm feumar cùram agus faicill a nochdadh, agus nach foghainn spaglainn leanabail agus buille air thuairam. Feumar smaointeachadh agus breathnachadh, agus chan fhaodar earbsa choimhlionta chur an cumhachd a' chlàidhimh. Feumar aire thoirt do ghnè a' phobuill a tha ri riaghladh, agus feumar na prìomh-riaghailtean a cho-chumadh ri an dòighean, an cleachaidhean, an eachdraidh agus an aignidhean.

Ach gu tilleadh ri'm cheann-teagaisg—na prìomh-riaghailtean a bhiodh freagarrach do'n stàid Albannaich—bheir sinn fa-near an toiseach gu'm feum an stàid sin a bhi air a stèidheachadh gu dìomh-mhalt air gnìomhachas. Cha chomasach dhuinn a ràdh mu mhac an duine gu'm bheil e da-rìreadh am bith gus am bheil e an seilbh air cuibhrionn iomchuidh

The Scottish Review

de theachd-an-tìr. Tha'n nì ceudna fìor san t-saoghal shluagh-iuileach. Is éiginn do'n phobull a bhi'n seilbh air goireasan sònruichte. Dh'aobharaich an éiginn sin mòran meorachaidh agus rannsachaidh, agus, mu'n cuairt dhi, thogadh an àird aitreabh àluinn de eagnaidheachd—Eolas-na-Dòighealachd. Tha e soillear mar is mò a tha caidreamh agus uireasbhuidhean a' chinne-daonna a' fàs gur ann is farsuinge agus is luachmhoire a bhios an t-eolas so a' dol. Tha gach linn a tha 'g éirigh suas na's tarmusaiche, na's ailghiosaiche, na's moiteala, agus na's cosdala na an té a chaidh roimhe. Air an aobhar sin, tha eolas-na-dòighealachd o àm gu àm ag atharrachadh, a' leudachadh agus a' cinntinn, Tha i gu mòr air a cumadh a réir beachd agus inntinn na muinntir a tha 'ga h-aideach, agus mar an ceudna, a réir an àbhuistean, an aomaidhean, agus an claonbhàigh.

Tha e furasda fir-eolais-na-dòighealachd a roinn a suas 'nan earrannan agus 'nan buidhnean, ceart mar a nithear air a dream a tha cur ùigh agus suim an cùisean sluagh-iuileach. Is feumail dhuinn, uime sin, a bhi daonnan 'nar n-earalas a thaobh nam barailean agus nan comhairlean a bheirear cho fialuidh seachad leis gach earrainn agus buidhinn fa leth. Chan eil eolas-na-dòighealachd fhathas, agus cha bhi gu bràth, coimhlionta, neo-mhearachdach, mar a tha speuradaireachd agus eolas tomhais is àireamh. Tha mòran, mòran, de na th'air a shearmonachadh mu thimchioll anabarrach neo-chinnteach, agus is ainneamh ceist mu'n cluinnear uiread de dheasbaireachd agus de chaochladh bhar-

Prìomh-Riaghailtean do na Ceiltich

ailean. Is e ar dleasnas, uime sin, oidhirp thréibh-dhireach a thoirt gu fìrinnean sònruichte a thaghadh agus 'altrum gu cùramach. Ma nì sinn so, cha bhì sinn air ar tonn-luasgadh le anabarr de bheachdan suarach, amaideach.

Inns ear dhuinn le Luchd-an-Earraìs, ma chumas iadsan air ais an cuid airgid, gu'm bì oidhirpean nan Saothraichean gun fheum, gun stàth. Mu'n cheist chiogailtich so chaidh mìltean de leabhraichean a sgrìobhadh, agus chaidh iomadh tionnsgnadh a chruthadh, mar a tha " Roinn-na-buannachd " agus a leithid sin. Is duilich a thuigsinn c'arson a bhiodh uiread de chònnasachadh agus de thuaireap mu thomhsachan a tha cho soirbh ri fhuasgladh. Mu'n robh Earras ann, tha Saothair—mu'n robh Luchd-an-Earraìs idir air sgeul bha Saothraichean a' solar bidh, aodaich, fasgaidh, agus ghoireasan eile. Is e Saothair a chruthaich Earras, agus às eugmhais cha bhiodh e idir am bith. Mhaireadh Saothair às eugmhais Earraìs, ach cha mhaireadh Earras aon latha às eugmhais Saothair. Is e saothair bonn-stéidh gach saibhreis. Is fìrinnean iad so a dh' fheumar fhaicinn agus aideach leis gach neach tuigseach, onorach.

Air an stéidh so, ma ta, is cubhaidh dhuinn teannadh ri togail—gur ann air tàilleamh Saothair a tha gach Earras. Tha e a' leantainn uaithe sin gu'm bheil còir agus dlighe aig an t-Saothraiche, a tha a deilbh agus a' cruthachadh gach earraìs, air gach buannachd—gach anabarr buannachd a tha 'g éirigh o 'oidhirpean agus a dhìchioll féin. Air an aobhar sin, cha bhiodh rum no àite aig Luchd-

The Scottish Review

an-Earrais anns an stàid Cheiltich a th'againn san amharc. Cha mhò na sin a bhiodh feum no ionndrainn air a leithid de dhream. Bhiodh Saothair an dà chuid 'na "maighstir" agus 'na "làimh." Bhiodh toradh gach saothair air a roinn gu cothromach am measg nan Saothraichean, ach bhiodh cuibhrionn fheumail air a chur air leth a chum cosdais na stàide a choinneachadh. Bhiodh so air a dheanamh gu saor-thoileach, oir, anns an stàid Cheiltich, bhiodh Saothair an àrd-ùghdarras, agus dh'fheumadh na ceirdean agus na gnìomhachais tighinn gu còrdadh 'nam measg féin a thaobh na bhiodh aca, fa leth, ri chur san ionmhas choitcheann a chum an stàid a chumail saor o ainfhiach. Is e an t-anabarr a bhiodh thairis a rachadh a roinn gu cothromach air an saothraichean, agus bhiodh an roinn sin air a dheanamh leis an stàid.

Cha bhiodh e glic no cubhaidh an roinn so, no cùmhnantan sam bith a bhuineadh do obair, a bhi air fhàgail am meinn nan ceirdean fa leth, oir cha b'ion fiughair a bhi ri nì ach deasbud agus iorghuill. Cha deanadh e math sam bith. Dh'fheumta na roinnean agus na cùmhnantan so a cheartachadh agus a shocrachadh leis na Saothraichean uile an comhairle cruinn. Na leithid sin de chomhairle bhiodh facal cho àrd is cho àrd aig an dream a bhiodh ag obair le an làmhan, agus acasan a bhiodh ag obair le an inntinnean. An cainnt eile, bhiodh na ceistean so air an socrachadh le uchdan pàrlamaid, agus bhiodh iad a' faighinn ath-bheachdachadh, o àm gu àm, mar a bhiodh margaidhean agus meudachd na malairt ag atharrachadh—ag at agus a' sioladh.

Priomh-Riaghailtean do na Ceiltich

Ar leam gu'm bu chòir gach sgillinn a rachadh a thoirt a staigh air tàilleamh gnìomhachais a bhi air a pàigheadh do ionmhas coitcheann, agus, às an ionmhas so, gheibheadh am fear-oibre an tuarasdail air an robh e air a mheas airidh le guth agus barail a chompanach. O'n bhiodh an stàid Cheilteach air a suidheachadh air comunnaireachd, tha e a' leantainn gu'm biodh aig gach mór-roinn a h-ionmhas féin, às am pàigheadh i am mach na tuarasdail. A bharrachd air ionmhasan nam mór-roinnean, bhiodh againn, mar an ceudna, Ard-Ionmhas, agus, a staigh do'n fhear so, bhiodh na mór-roinnean a' pàigheadh nan suimeanan a thigeadh orra a sholar, fa leth a chum an stàid a chumail suas. Bhiodh meuran nan rathaidean-móra air an deanamh agus air an cumail air dòigh leis na mór-roinnean, ach bhiodh na prìomh rathaidean 'nan uallach a mhàin air an Ard Uachdaranachd. Bhiodh ise, mar an ceudna, fo fhiachaibh a thaobh nan rathaidean-iaruinn, nan amar-uigse, na postachd, nam fiosan-dealain, agus nan nithean sin uile a tha feumail do'n t-sluagh thar cheann. Bhuineadh gach àsuing ghniomhais do'n t-sluagh uile, agus bhiodh i air a riaghladh leo agus às an leth.

Tha anabarr beartais cho cronail olc ri anabarr de nì sam bith eile. Tha an neach no an comunn no an stàid aig am bheil anabarr beartais 'na dhragh dha féin agus 'na chunnart do mhuinntir eile. Mu choinneamh aon duine a chuireas a shaibhreas gu deagh bhuil tha fichead nach cuir, agus air an aobhar sin, feumar an t-iomlan a chur fo chuing. Tha dara leth beartais nan trì rioghachdan so an seilbh mìle-

The Scottish Review

gu-leth pearsa—is e sin ri ràdh, tha e mar bhonnach air a roinn 'na dhà earrainn chothromaich, aon earrann a' dol gu aon duine agus an earrainn eile gu 1,500 pearsa. Dé uiread de'n bhonnach a tha ruigheachd air an fhear-oibre dhìchiollach, oidhirpeach? O cheann bheagan bhliadhnachan thàinig am bàs air seachdnar dhaoine a dh' fhàg eatorra £45,000,000. Cuireamaid tuarasdal an fhir-oibre aig £75 sa bhliadhna, agus abramaid gu'm bheil e ag oibreachadh fad fhichead bliadhna. Ghabhadh e 30,000 de fhir-oibre fad uile làithean am beatha gus an t-airgead sin a chosnadh (gun ghuth air a chaomhnadh). Aig daoine saibhir tha tighinn-a-staigh a tha a' ruith suas gu tric gu £150,000 sa bhliadhna—agus gu math thairis air. Tha mhór-chuid de'n luchd-ceird is teoma agus is oidhirpiche a' tarruing sa' bhliadha £75 an tuarasdail. Uime sin, tha'm fear ud aig am bheil £150,000 sa' bhliadhna a' faighinn barrachd ri 2,000 de luchd-ceirde, agus tha aig an luchd-ceirde ri oibreachadh 600,000 de laithnean air son an tuarasdail, am feadh is nach eil fear nam miltean ag oibreachadh idir. Is aithne dhuinn aon diuc a tha a' faighinn gach bliadhna, às a thàmh, uiread de airgead is a gheibheadh brod an fhircheird an 14,000 de bhliadhnachan air son obair ghoirt agus fheumail. Is iomchuidh grabadh buileach a chur air na cuilbheartan leis am bheil cuid a' càrnadh suas anabarr saibhreis. Is e grabadh is fearr gu mòr na bhi ag oidhirpeachadh air an olc a leitheas le cisean agus càin. Bu chòir gach neach a cho-éigneachadh gu obair air chor-éiginn a dheanamh—bheireadh sin slàinte agus fallaineachd dha féin agus do'n stàid.

Priomh-Riaghailtean do na Ceiltich

Thoireamaid fa-near gu'm bheil còir aig Saothair air tuillidh is " beoshlainte." Tha còir aice air na chumas i an comhfhurtachd agus an seasgaireachd, ach chan ann an sòghalachd. Thug Perricles cos-nadh o'n stàid do na bochdan, ach cha riaghailt sin a tha toillteanach air moladh. Is riaghailt i a dh' islicheadh agus a thruaileadh am pobull, agus a bheireadh a staigh iomadh droch bheus. Chaidh mòran innleachdan a dheilbh le Phaleas, Platon, Aristotle, agus feallsanaich eile chum bochdainn agus anabarr beartais a thoirt an coinneamh a chèile. Dh'fheuch Solon ri casg a chur air cinneas nan stóras móra, ach cha robh buaidh le a chuid oidhirpean. Is e an dòigh is reusanta agus is feàrr, chan e a bhi leigheas an uilc an déidh làimhe, ach a bhi toirmeasg anabarr beartais. Is e an dòigh is feàrr ceann-criche a chur gu buileach air rian an earrais, obair fhreagarrach a chur mar fhiachaibh air gach neach, agus buannachd gach malairt agus gnìomhachas a bhi a' tilleadh chum an dream a choisinn i, an déidh cosdais na stàide a bhi air a dìoladh.

Fo'n rian Phàirteach Cheilteach, buinidh am fearann uile do'n stàid. Bu chòir do gach cinneach a bhi 'na uachdaran air an fhearann-air am bheil e a' tuineachadh. Bha eadhoin an rian Fiudalach ag aideach na firinne so, oir, an aon seadh, bhuineadh gach fonn is fearann a mhàin do'n rìgh. Bha'n rìgh air amharc air, mar an ceudna, mar athair agus mar fhear-dìon a' phobuill uile. Labhair mi cho tric anns na duilleagan so mu eucoir ar laghannan fearainn is gu'm bheil sgàth orm an còrr a ràdh an tràsda air eagal gu'n sàruich mi faidhidinn an leugh-

The Scottish Review

adair. Their mi so co dhiubh—nach urrainn fiughair a bhi againn ri latha subhach no sona gus an téid am fearainn a thoirt a làmhan a bheagan agus 'aiseag thairis do'n stàid. Mar thuirt Mgr. Uilleam E. Gladstone an 1899—"Those persons who possess large portions of the earth's space are not altogether in the same position as possessors of mere personality, and I freely own that expropriation is a thing which is admissible, and even sound in principle." Bu dàna da-rìreadh an neach a theannadh ris an fhìrinn so àicheadh.

Ach chan abair mi'n còrr fo na cinn so. Tha e furasd a thuigsinn gu'm bheil e eu-comasach dol a staigh gu mionaideach an aon phaipear do gach sochair, dlighe, agus dleasnas a bhiodh aig an stàid Cheiltich. Is e na bha fodham cruth agus dealbh an rian ùir a chomharrachadh am mach, agus a chur an céill gu soillear gu'm biodh an rian sin air a bhonn-tachadh air an fhìrinn-shuidhichte gur e Saothair fréumh gach Earrais. Chan eil mi idir ullamh gu mi féin a cheangal ri barailean mionaideach a thaobh gach car is lùb a bhiodh san rian sin. Fógnaidh e aig an àm ma théid na ballachan a thogail. Cha chùram nach eil tùr agus innleach gu leoir am measg nan Ceilteach chum ceann agus mullach a chur air an aitribh.

Théid sinn a nis air ar n-aghaidh chum beachd eile ghabhail air an stàid. An seadh no dhà faodar a ràdh gu'm bheil i air a deanamh suas de mhóran theaghlaichean. Feumar aideach gu'n do labhair cuid de Phàirtich na h-uiread a bha air bheag toinise a thaobh an teaghlaich. Ar leo gu'm b'urrainn dhaibh

Priomh-Riaghailtean do na Ceiltich

cur às da, agus an stàid a thoirt a steach 'na àite. Cha bhi móran faidhidinn aig Ceiltich ri baothaireachd de'n t-seorsa sin. Bha iadsan riamh ag amharc air an teaghlach mar nì ionann is naomh, agus chan eil aobhar air smaointeachadh gu'n atharraich iad am beachdan air ailghios praskan de mhuinntir àrd-bheachdail, neonaich, amaidich. Chan eil ceann no crìoch air an fhaoineis mhì-cheutaich a chaidh a chur an céill le Pàirtich. Bheir mi seachad aon eisimplear á ceann-eagair a chaidh a tharruing am mach an 1869 le Comhairle Phàirtich a shuidh am Bàsle. Tha sinn a' leughadh mar a leanas:—"Tha a' Chomhairle cur an céill gu'm bheil i ag àicheadh Dhé; tha i tagradh gur còir gach aoradh a bhacadh, agus ceannas a thoirt do fhealisanachd thairis air creidimh. . . . Tha i a' tagradh, mar an ceudna, gur còir pòsadh a ghrabadh, cho fad is a tha e 'na òrdugh sluagh-iuileach, cràbhach, laghail no sìobhailt." Gun teagamh, cha robh na beachdan so air an altrum leis gach Pàirteach an 1869, agus cha mhór idir a chuireas an aonta riu air an latha diugh. O 1869 is iomadh caochladh mór a thàinig, eadhoin air beachdan nam Pàirteach. Cha chluinnear móran an diugh mu fheallsanachd a chur an àite creidimh no mu na h-iorghaltan eile a bha fillte steach san oidhirp sin. Gidheadh, cha dean e coire sam bith a chur air chunntas nach biodh cuid no gnothach aig na Ceiltich ri a leithid sin de cheann-eagair. Cha dealachaidh iad ri an creidimh, agus cha dealaichheadh iad ri rian an teaghlaich. Tha iad le chéile luachmhor 'nan sùilean. Cha toir an stàid Cheilteach stéidheachadh no tochradh do chreidimh no do theaghlach, ach

The Scottish Review

gheibh iad le chéile uaipe gach misneach agus gnùis a bhios 'na comas a thoirt dhaibh. Nach faodar na ceirdean, na h-ealdhainean, agus na gnìomhachais a shamhlachadh ri teaghlaichean? Agus dé th'anns an stàid féin ach grunnain lìonmhor de theaghlaichean? Air an làimh eile, chan eil e iomchuidh no feumail gu'm biodh an teaghlach a' faighinn còirichean no sochairean sònruichte sam bith o'n stàid. Fógnaidh leis gu'm bi a chòirichean nàdurra air an dìon agus a dheagh bhuadhan air an aideach.

Dé a their sinn a thaobh còir a bhi aig neach agus na bhuineas dha fhàgail, aig àm a bhàis, aig a shliochd no a dhaimhich? No dé a their sinn a thaobh seilbh air leth a bhi aig neach? Feumaidh an dà nì so a bhi air an aideach, oir tha iad le chéile a réir lagh nàduir. Mur bi e ceadachaidh do dhuine seilbh bheag a chruinneachadh dha féin, agus mur faod e na th'aige fhàgail aig a chàirdean, cha bhi e a chòir cho gleusda no cho sùrdail gu gnìomhachas agus malairt a chuideachadh air an aghaidh. Chan atharraichear inntinnean agus càil dhaoine, eadhoin le stàid Phàirtich. Is caomh leis an t-seillein féin a bhi cruinneachadh ghoireasan, agus is caomh leis nead sheasgair agus beagan meala a chur ma seach chum feum a ghineil. Gun teagamh, feumar earalas a thoirt nach cinn an stòradh reusanta so gu bhi 'na Earras. Ar leam nach eagal gu'n tachair a leithid sin de nì. Bidh e air a bhacadh gu h-éifeachdach le prìomh-riaghailtean na stàid Cheiltich, oir cha leigear a bhuannachd a thig o ghnìomhachas agus o mhalairt an làmhnan aon neach sam bith. Mar a thuirt mi, cuirear e uile a steach do'n ionmhas choitcheann.

Priomh-Riaghailtean do na Ceiltich

Feumar rian an Earrais a spionadh às a fhréumhan air a h-uile cor, oir, le bhi a' sàruchadh Luchd-na-Saothair, is e is ciorramaiche agus is curnartaiche de gach olc air am bheil sinn eolach.

Anns an stàid Cheiltich, bidh gach neach co-ionann am fianuis an lagha, agus bheirear aire shòn-ruichte gu'm bi an tionnsgnadh so air a ghiulan am mach gu cothromach agus gu riaghailteach. Bidh an t-aon chothrom aig gach duine gu a shlàinte féin a oibreachadh am mach, agus, ma bhios gliocas air a chleachdadh, théid gach tiodal agus inbhe a chur gu grad á bith. Bidh fòghlum air a chur am meud, agus bidh e 'na mheadhoin foghainteach chum co-ionannachd a thoirt mu'n cuairt, a shocrachadh, agus a dhaingneachadh. Ach chan fhaodar dol tuillidh is fada anns an rathad so. Chan fhaodar oidhirp a thoirt air co-ionannachd a chosnadh an aghaidh lagh nàduir. Is e so nì a dh' fheuchadh ri dheanamh an Ar-am-Mach na Frainge, ach bu dona a shoirbhich leis an oidhirp. Feumar leigeadh le lagh nàduir a chùrsa a ghabhail, oir cha do shoirbhich le dream riamh a dh' fheuch ri a bhacadh no a thoirt gu neo-bhrìgh. Bha cho math dhuinn feuchainn ri srian a chur ri gaoth nan speur, ri tuil nan gleann, no ri onfhadh na mara. Coltach ri luchd-leanmhainn Zeno—na Stoicich—faodaidh sinn a ràdh gu'm bheil aonachd a' chinne-daonna a' gabhail a staigh còirichean agus dleasnais a tha coitcheann do gach neach, agus nach urrainn do lagh dhaoine a thoirt seachad no a bhuntainn air falbh. Ach chan eil so a' ciallachadh gu'm bheil an sluagh uile gu nàdurra co-ionann, no gur urrainn lagh no riaghailt an dean-

The Scottish Review

amh no an cumail 'na leithid sin de shuidheachadh. Bha, tha, agus bithidh, neo-ionannachd agus eadar-dhealachadh eadar muinntir, agus is riaghailt sin nach urrainn dhuinn a chuideachadh no a leasachadh. Mar a thuirt Epictetus, is e ar dleasnas géill a thoirt do reachdan agus do àitheantan nan diathan, agus chan ann do riantan leibideach nam marbh. Anns an stàid Cheiltich, bu chòir dhuinn uile a bhi co-ionann am fianuis an lagha, ach ma bheirear ionnsaigh air a' phobull a dheanamh co-ionann am fianuis nàduir chan ion fiughair a bhi ri ni ach tubaist agus diombuaidh. Théid Pàirteachd am mutha ma theannas e ri atharrachadh a dheanamh air na reachdan siorruidh, bunailteach. Am meadhoin na doinninn ghreadhnaich, eagalaich, a dh' fhiosraicheadh an Sidmouth, chunnacas Mrs. Partington, a bha chòmh-nuidh taobh a' chladaich, a' tighinn am mach le gas-sguabaidh agus a' tòiseachadh air a' Chuan a thilleadh air ais. Dh'at agus bheuc an Cuan, agus bha Mrs. Partington làn ardain, buaireis, agus frionais. Cha ruigear a leas innseadh co e fhuair a' chuid a b' fheàrr de'n strith iongantaich. Rinn an Cuan an gnothach air Mrs. Partington. Mar a thachair do'n bhoireannach amaideach so, is amhuil sin a thachras do chinneach sam bith a dh' fheuchas ris a' phobull uile a dheanamh co-ionann ma choinneamh nàduir. Ach air a shon sin, amhaircidh na Ceiltich air an stàid, chan ann mar bhanamhaighstir chruidh leis an caomh na sluagh a shàruchadh, ach mar bhanacharaid choir, cheanalta, a tha co-oibreachadh leo chum min-eolas a sgaoileadh agus cor an t-saoghail a chur am feabhas.

Priomh-Riaghailtean do na Ceiltich

Aon nì do'm feumar aire shònruichte thoirt—gu'm bi smachd agus ceannas riochdail aig a' phobull thairis air an stàid. Is e sin ceannas nach do shealbh-aich am pobull riamh fhathasd anns na rioghachdan so againn-ne. Tha'n àrd-uachdaranachd uile-chumhachdach, agus faodaidh i a toil a dheanamh anns gach cùis. Is comasach dhi dol an ceann-cùmhnainte ri rioghachdan eile, no eadhoin dol a chogadh, gun chead a shireadh no fhaighinn o'n t-sluagh. Is comasach dhi ainfhiach a chàrnadh suas, laghannan cruaidhe a thoirt gu bith, agus, eadhoin, a saoghal féin a shìneadh am mach a dh' aindeoin oidhirp a' phobuill air a bacadh. Is e an t-aon leigheas air na h-olcan so a' chumhachd a roinn suas air chor is nach bi tuillidh sa chòir an làmhnan na stàide, agus gabhaidh an roinn so deanamh gu furasda fo'n rian chomunn-aireach. An uair a théid comasan na stàide a lughdachadh gu inbhe chothromaich, an sin breug-naichear an nì a labhradh le Rousseau gur e a th' anns a' cho-fhlaitheachd modh riaghlaidh a tha ro fhreagarrach do na diathan, ach nach dean an gnothach idir do chloinn nan daoine.

Is éiginn dhomh an deasbaireachd so a thoirt gu crìch. Tha a' cheist a dh' fheuch mi ri a rannsachadh mór agus farsuing, agus tha eagal orm nach d'rinn mi ach beantainn ri àireamh bhig de a cirbean. Cha bu chomasach dhomh ann am beagan dhuilleagan dol a staigh innte gu domhain no gu mionaideach, ach bhuin mi ris na cinn a tha gu sònruichte feumach air mìneachadh agus sgrùdadh. Tha dòchas agam nach robh mo chuid oidhirpean gu buileach an dlomhain. Is e a bha gu h-àraidh air m'aire miann

The Scottish Review

agus déidh a dhùsgadh san leughadair a chum fiosrachadh a dheanamh do na cùisean air a shon féin. Is cùisean iad a thagras aire an ùine gun a bhi fada, oil air mhath leinn. Thig atharrachadh mór agus obunn an déidh a' chogaidh, agus, a thaobh sluagh-iuil, bidh an taigh fo'n allt no'n t-allt fo'n taigh. Bidh strìth gun choimeas eadar Earras agus Saothair, agus gheibh an dara aon no'n t-aon eile tuillidh cumhachd agus smachd na bh'aige riamh roimhe. Théid a' cho-fhlaitheachd a chur air a deuchainn, agus, ma gheibhear i meata no ceacharra, bidh a staid dheireannach na's miosa na a ceud staid.

Tha dòchas agam gu'n dean na Ceiltich greim daingeann air dà fhirinn shoillear. Is e a' cheud aon gu'm feum prìomh-riaghailtean stàide a bhi sìmplidh, furasda, le pailteas ruim air son cinneis agus sgaoilidh—aodaichean farsuing do na leanaban òga. Is e an t-aon eile gu'm feum na prìomh-riaghailtean a bhi a réir nàduir a' phobuill. Ma nithear dearmad air so is coma dé cho snasail, ealanta, is a choimheadas iad air paipear. Thuirt Polybius gu'n robh na prìomh-riaghailtean Rómanach cho coimhlionta is a ghabhadh iad a bhi, ach, goirid an déidh dha sud a ràdh, chaidh iad às a chéile 'nam bloighdean. Bha Bodin agus Montesquieu le chéile a' sìor shearmonachadh gu'm b'iomchuidh geur aire thoirt do shuidheachadh agus do chor nàdurra nam pobull. Tha mise dol na's fhaide agus ag ràdh gur cubhaidh, ann an cur suas stàide, geur aire thoirt, chan e mhàin do dhùthaich a' chinnich, ach mar an ceudna d'a spiorad, agus d'a dhualachas.

A. M. E.

Chronicles of the Quarters

The Celtic Constitution.

Our Gaelic contribution is from the gifted pen of Aonghas Mac Eanruig, and is in pursuance of the theme discussed by him in the last impression of this *Review*. On the present occasion our contributor turns constitution-maker, and outlines a Celtic polity such as, he contends, the Celts in general might well adopt. We propose to give some few particulars of that scheme for the benefit of those of our readers who have no acquaintance with the language of Eden. After some preliminary observations, our author turns his attention to the subject of Political Economy, of which science he remarks that many "schools" and many doctors go to constitute it. We must not make the mistake (he says) of regarding Political Economy as an exact science. "Much that is preached about it is very uncertain, and few matters are more susceptible of differing opinion than it is. The Capitalists tell us (he continues) that if they withheld their wealth the workers would be brought to naught. In connexion with this matter, thousands of volumes have been written, and various devices, such as Profit-sharing and so forth, have been floated, but it is difficult to understand why so simple an affair should have given rise to so dense a controversy. Before Capital was, Labour is—before we heard a word about Capital, Labour was supplying society with the necessities of existence. Capital is the product of Labour, and without the latter the former could not be. Labour could well get along without Capital, but Capital without Labour could not exist for a single day. The source of all wealth is Labour; these are truths which cannot but be candidly acknowledged by every reflecting and impartial mind." The Celtic state is to be built up on the foundation of the axioms laid down in our contributor's paper. There would be no room for the Capitalist in the Celtic State. Labour would be its own "master" and its own "hand." The fruits of toil would be divided among the workers themselves, excess profits being set aside to meet the exigencies of the State. The measure of the various proportions to be paid into the State funds would be determined by the workers themselves, who would be supreme in the Celtic State. We regret

The Scottish Review

that we cannot give English renderings of all our contributor's remarks on this head—they would occupy considerably more space than we are unfortunately able to afford them in these notes. Continuing his observations, our author remarks that in the Celtic State the land should belong to the community. Every nation should own the soil of the country it inhabits. Even under the Feudal System there was a theoretic recognition of this axiom, for the ownership of all land was supposed to be vested in the Sovereign. As for the Family, certain schools of Socialists have uttered a deal of nonsense about that matter. "They imagined that they could abolish it, and erect the State in its room. At a Socialist Congress, held in Basle in 1869, God was declared to be abolished and marriage undone! True it is that the world has travelled somewhat since 1869, nevertheless let it be known to all and sundry that the Celts will neither abandon their Christian faith, nor accept the State in room of the Family." Private property would not be incompatible with the Celtic State; the abuse of private property is Capital and the Capitalist system; but as those evils would not exist in the Celtic State, the connection of Private Property with the Family could be safely maintained. In the Celtic State everyone is to be equal in the eye of the law, titles are not to exist, but the laws of nature must not be strained or violated in order to bring about a false equality. "We must not strive to purchase equality at the expense of the natural law. This is what was attempted to be done at the time of the French Revolution, and ill did it fare with those who engaged in that endeavour. The natural law must be allowed its own course; as well might we seek to chain the winds, to shackle the rivers that flow through the glens, or to imprison the ocean, as to attempt to cross or bend the natural law from its purpose. As the disciples of Zeno, the Stoics, held, so let us believe, that the unity of mankind involves certain rights and duties that are common to all, and doubtless those rights and those duties no man-made law can take away from us; but that is not to say that equality is the rule of the natural law, and that human laws are sufficient unto the preservation of an artificial equality. Inequality is a law of nature, and to that law we must needs submit. As Epictetus put it, our duty is to submit to the laws of the gods and not to the wretched ordinances of the dead. In the Celtic State, all will be equal before the law, but if it should be attempted to bring about an equality opposed to the natural law, therefrom nothing would result but

Chronicles of the Quarters

disaster and failure." In the Celtic State the supremacy of the People must be unquestioned ; the State must exist for the People, and not the People for the State. Political power is to be split up into fragments as much as possible, for only by so doing can we hope to falsify Rousseau's celebrated maxim that Democracy is a government for gods, but unfit for the sons of men. " Finally (concludes our author) I hope that the Celts will lay firm hold of two solemn truths. The first is that Constitutions in general should resemble a suit of clothes made for a growing youth ; the second being that the genius of the Constitution must accord with that of the people on whose account it is designed. If this precaution be neglected, fail it will, no matter how fair it may look on paper. - Shortly before the Roman Constitution was destroyed, Polybius, examining it, pronounced it to be the most perfect instrument of its kind that could be devised. Both Bodin and Montesquieu drew attention to the importance of physical conditions in respect of the polity of States ; for my part I go farther than they went, and affirm that in drawing up a Constitution for a people, due regard must be had to the genius of that people, as the same is manifested in its hereditary character and in its history."

Ireland and Scotland at the Peace Congress.

There is now clear evidence that the English Government and ruling classes are become highly uneasy with regard to the Irish design of appealing to the Peace Congress. English statesmen have candidly admitted that the appearance of Ireland at that gathering of the nations is a contingency which cannot be regarded with equanimity by England, whose abounding professions of benevolence to " Small Nations " are thus threatened to be publicly exposed in that superlatively ridiculous light in which private amusement at pretensions so absurd and impudent have long ago set them. A press campaign of calumny and misrepresentation where national Ireland and national principles are concerned supplies further proof that the " authorities " in England are more than commonly alarmed at the prospect of having to encounter Ireland in the gate of the Peace Congress. For our parts we cannot but rejoice at the appearance of phenomena which, in the ordinary course of events, should lead to the discomfiture of a Power whose resources of mendacity are little less formidable than the national

The Scottish Review

possessions in respect of hypocrisy. We do not envy John Bull the figure which he is like to cut at the Peace Congress. Among the nations of the earth he has not a few open, and a yet larger number of secret, enemies, and both may be safely trusted to vex the spirit and cross the designs of the sham Lord Bountiful as much as possible. The indications point to a more than commonly representative gathering of animated skeletons at that prospective feast of reason and flow of soul which goes by the name of the "Peace Congress"; and, though Ireland should be denied, yet Scotland will be there, ready, if need be, to pluck the Great Ones by the sleeve, and to whisper into their ears home truths and sharp unpleasanties touching "National Self-determination," "Small Nations," and other "win-the-war" shibboleths of high degree.

A Ministry of Health for Scotland.

The demand for national autonomy finds support in many unexpected quarters. The Scottish Labour Movement has nailed the flag of independence to its mast; among those responsible for the administration of educational affairs there is a growing revolt against the rule of bureaucracy. The Highland Land League is vigorously and even aggressively nationalist, and so, too, is the new Celtic movement. Equally significant—and symptomatic of the spirit of the times—is the movement among Public Health Officials, Friendly Societies, and Insurance Societies in favour of the establishment of a Ministry of Health for Scotland. More than once in recent issues the necessity of such a step has been strongly insisted on in the pages of the *Scottish Review*, and the movement grows steadily in strength. The Scottish Association of Insurance Committees is unanimously in favour of the proposal, and among Public Health Authorities it is strongly supported. At the Annual Congress of the Incorporated Sanitary Association of Scotland, which met at Stirling in the first week of September, an important paper was read on the subject by Mr. W. M. Marshall, Clerk to the Insurance Committee for the County of Lanark, and Secretary to the Scottish Association of Insurance Committees. Mr. Marshall is an indefatigable propagandist, and has taken a prominent part in putting the proposals of the Insurance Committees into concrete shape and placing them before the people of Scotland. Some of the facts to which Mr. Marshall drew attention are ominous and dis-

Chronicles of the Quarters

quieting. The rate of infantile mortality in the large industrial towns of Scotland is alarmingly high ; in Coatbridge it is 131 ; in Glasgow, 111 ; and in Greenock, 109. That this heavy toll of child life is largely preventible may be gathered from the fact that in the county of Kinross the infantile death rate is 41, in Shetland 42, in Sutherland 44, and in Caithness 66. Or, to put the matter another way :—" Since the war started in August, 1914, Scotland has lost by death 48,000 babies under one year old, and over 80,000 under five years." What the precise number of Scottish soldiers who have fallen during the past four years may be it is difficult to say. Lord Northcliffe has put the total killed at 1,000,000 ; and when one remembers that Scottish soldiers have borne the brunt of some of the fiercest fighting, the Scottish death-roll may quite fairly be estimated at about 100,000. Certainly it cannot be much less. A staggering price ! But heavy though the toll may be, it is less than the number of Scottish children under five years of age who have died during the same period—died very largely from preventible causes. Moreover, the conditions which have produced that high rate of infantile mortality have also resulted in a high percentage of physical unfitness among those who have survived. In other words the maimed and broken soldiers of industry, as well as the battered wrecks of war, demand immediate care and attention. That is the great health problem with which Scotland will be confronted after the war, and in order to deal thoroughly and efficiently with this grave blot on our national life, the people of Scotland must take its administration of health affairs into their own hands. That is what the proposal of the Insurance Committees naturally amounts to, though Mr. Marshall perhaps does not put the matter quite so strongly. Mr. Marshall proposes that a separate Ministry of Health should be formed for Scotland, and that it should take over the duties of the Insurance Commission, certain of the functions of the Local Government Board for Scotland, and the department of the Registrar-General for Scotland. He proposes further that the new Ministry should take over the health functions at present administered by the Scottish Educational Department. Such a Ministry should also take control of the Midwives' Board for Scotland, the Highlands and Islands Medical Service Board, and the Central Board of Control in Lunacy. Thus the administration and control of Health affairs in Scotland would be placed under the control of a Scottish Ministry with a Minister directly responsible

The Scottish Review

for the work of his Department. The suggestion that the office of Minister of Health should be held by the Secretary for Scotland is strongly opposed by the Scottish Insurance Societies and enlightened opinion in Scotland generally—and quite rightly so. The Secretary for Scotland already represents at least half-a-dozen different Boards and interests, and one more Board to the number would merely make confusion more confounded and strengthen the grip of bureaucracy on the national life of Scotland. The new Minister must be an enthusiast for health reform, and must take a direct and active interest in the work of his Department. It would be fatal to the scheme of Health reform to allow the responsible head of the Department to become the mere mouthpiece of officialdom. The scheme propounded by Mr. Marshall and the Scottish Insurance Societies is on sound National lines. It is a stepping-stone towards complete national autonomy—the control and management of the affairs of Scotland by the people of Scotland themselves.

The International.

In its impression of September 7 last, there appear in our contemporary *Forward*, some very just observations on the part of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, touching the International. Mr. Macdonald begins by admitting that the International "is in a bad way," which fact he mainly attributes to the difficulty of reconciling the Majority Socialists (German) with the War-Aims Memorandum of the Socialists of the Allied Countries. We think, as he does, that Mr. Henderson and his friends would have done better not to insist on the acceptance of the Memorandum by the German Socialists as a preliminary to discussion, and we sympathise with the German Majority in its efforts to substitute the Memorandum of the Neutral Socialists in room of the Allied document. It is said that Mr. Henderson's proposals are merely "suggested": i.e. that, in their present form, they are binding on no one, being intended merely to provide the basis of future discussion. True, no doubt, but if their enforcement as mere "suggestions" raises formidable obstacles to the speedy meeting of the International, why persist in imparting to them an obligatory character? Why not allow the German Majority Socialists to find a way out of the dilemma in which they are placed by consenting to their making the Neutral suggestions the basis of discussion? Highly as we are

Chronicles of the Quarters

disposed to think of Mr. Henderson's parts and character, we judge that in this matter he has not shewn his usual foresight, sagacity, and astuteness, or it may be that, in his obvious desire to carry along with him the suffrages of a very conservative and somewhat dull-witted people, he has overreached himself by casting his War-Aims Memorandum in a fashion too parital for them to be accepted—even as a basis of discussion—by that second party whose agreement thereto is essential to the contemplated bargain. In such cases, it is always better to avoid particulars, and to concentrate on "universals." A few general principles of universal acceptance (such as "Self-determination," freedom for Small Nations, etc.) would make a better basis of discussion than all the Allied Memoranda in Christendom. As it presently stands, the War-Aims Memorandum of Mr. Henderson and his friends is unacceptable to the German Majority Socialists even as a mere basis of discussion. And, meantime, the war goes on, and the International meets not.

The Policy of the Fourteen Points.

The future of Mr. Wilson's Policy of the Fourteen Points is, naturally, a subject of general speculation at the present time. Touching this matter, we beg leave to point out that the principle of National Self-determination "all round" does not figure in Mr. Wilson's programme, though we admit that it is susceptible of being deduced from the proposals to which he has set his hand. It is but right to point out, however, that those who, in canvassing the future of the "Fourteen Points," cannot free their minds of the inconsistencies and contradictions to be charged upon Mr. Wilson since the beginning of the present war have grounds for their doubt and suspicion other than those provided by a review of the American President's recent political activities and utterances. We shall briefly indicate one of these grounds. It is generally believed that Mr. Samuel Gompers enjoys the full confidence of Mr. Wilson, and certainly the presence of the former gentleman in these countries is hardly to be reconciled with any different theory. Under circumstances which cannot be regarded otherwise than as lending much colour to the views of those who doubt Mr. Wilson's *bona fides*, Mr. Gompers recently declared that he was not aware that any Irish Nationalist Member of Parliament had declared for the in-

The Scottish Review

dependence of his country. Mr. Gompers cannot be a very attentive student of Irish affairs inasmuch as, with one exception, all the recent elections that have taken place in Ireland have resulted in the return of members pledged to independence. It is true, doubtless, that Mr. Gompers's ignorance or disingenuity is, positively, a very unimportant matter, but considered relatively to Mr. Wilson (whose full confidence he is said to enjoy) we submit that it is one of the first importance. If, when it speaks for independence, the voice of Ireland is not to be heard, what guarantee have we that similar cries of distress will be listened to when the day of reckoning comes?

For our parts, we make no secret of our conviction that National Self-determination "all-round" and disarmament "all-round" are essential to the establishment of enduring peace. The two principles we have named have long been current in European political theory, and if, in order to the realisation thereof, American support is necessary, then American support of so just objects is a measure which cannot but be highly acceptable to democratic Europe. It is said that when the matter of laying railway lines was first discussed in the English Parliament an objector from the country instanced the contingent case of a cow that might stray upon the line. Stephenson at once disposed of the objector and his objection by remarking that if a cow strayed upon the line, it would be so much the worse for the cow. We should much regret to see Mr. Wilson opposing his will to the full and impartial exercise of principles on whose application in that manner the European democracy is determined; in the event of any so unhappy collision, it would be Mr. Wilson that would suffer, rather than the principles to which European democracy is pledged.

The Irish and Scottish Labour Parties.

The following paragraph appeared in a recent impression of the *Irish Voice of Labour*, and as the sentiments expressed in it accord in every way with our own, we have pleasure in reproducing our contemporary's remarks:—

"We turn in something like hope to the workers in Scotland, at least to those of them who have at various times translated their faith into action. We know that when Ireland acted many a working-class heart in Scotland throbbed in sympathy with what must have seemed to them a little army fighting a forlorn hope in a lost

Chronicles of the Quarters

cause. We know that nowhere did the general strike of Irish Labour strike a more responsive chord than in Scotland, and we know that Scotland has sent comrades to Ireland to plead for common action for common ends between Labour in Scotland and Labour in Ireland. We would welcome a closer agreement on action between the workers organised in Ireland and in Scotland. We believe that if the Scots workers have the courage and the wisdom to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance, Labour in Ireland will not shrink from any sacrifice the alliance may demand. On both sides we see signs that such an alliance is desired, and that it is cementing. We trust the signs read true, and that we are about to witness a real democratic alliance of the militant workers in two countries, which, if they think and act together, can shake capitalism in Western Europe to its very foundations. *Sinne Gaedhil na h-Alban agus Gaedhil na h-Eireann, agus ni nair linn é.*"

We hope that the "closer agreement" of which our contemporary speaks will mature, and to that end our best endeavours will always be at the service of those who desire to strengthen the ties existing between the two democracies. The "Auld Alliance" between France and Scotland is apt to overshadow in this country the yet more venerable connexion with Ireland, and though we are justly sensible of the sentimental and practical value of the former understanding and correspondence, yet it is but natural that our Irish kinsfolk should occupy the first place as well in our affections as in all plans having for their object the abrogation of the existing Capitalist system of government. To the overtures propounded by the *Voice of Labour*, we trust that there will be a prompt and zealous response on the part of the Scottish democracy and its accredited representatives.

Ulster again.

The September impression of the *Welsh Outlook* contains an interesting article by Mr. J. Arthur Price on the subject of "Welsh Nationalism and Mr. Lloyd George." The paper in question is well worth reading, and its length alone prevents us from reproducing it in its entirety in these pages, so important do we esteem Mr. Price's contribution to the literature of a highly important theme. We are glad to observe that Mr. Price subscribes to sound notions touching the racial complexion of Ulster. "A protest must be made

The Scottish Review

(he says) against the identification of the national claims of Wales and Scotland in the sectarian wrangle that divides the Celts of north-east Ulster from the Celts of the rest of Ireland. I describe the Ulstermen as Celts because they are Celts, being mostly immigrants into Ireland from the Gaelic portions of Scotland. In saying that the Ulstermen are Gaels and Celts, I do not deny that a good many Englishmen were among the planters sent to Ireland in the seventeenth century. But Englishmen in Ireland soon got merged in the Celts of the population. The descendants of Cromwell's soldiers in Tipperary are probably all Nationalists or Sinn Feiners to-day. The difficulty has come from the Scots settlers, mostly immigrants from those parts of Scotland where Gaelic blood predominates, and who are thus of the same race as the Irish." We believe that Mr. Lloyd George is in the habit of reading the *Welsh Outlook*, and if that be so, a paper part of whose title consists in his own name is hardly likely to escape the attention of a person whose rage for self-advertisement has recently descended to the level of the common or picture-house "film." We hope that Mr. Lloyd George will read Mr. Price's paper, and endeavour to profit by it in more ways than one. He said some very foolish things not long ago about the racial complexion of Ulster, committing himself to exploded extravagances on that head with all the abandon and *aplomb* which one is apt to associate with a person of sanguine temperament whose education has been neglected.

As to Ulster itself, the best thing that can happen to that cantankerous province is that it should be promptly taken in hand by a combined force of Irish and Scottish Labour men, intent on instilling true democratic principles into the breasts of the workers in that corner of Ireland. So long as Capitalism rules the roost in the province, so long will Ulster be at loggerheads with the rest of Ireland. The true way to accommodate all those difficulties is to cut, by means of intelligent agitation, the ground from beneath the feet of the present political and economic exploiters of the Ulster workers. If they fall, the pro-Union agitation will collapse, and peace and plenty will reign in Ulster as in the other provinces of Ireland. We commend this idea as being one meet to inaugurate the new International Alliance of which our contemporary the *Voice of Labour* speaks.

Chronicles of the Quarters

Ireland and the English Labour Party.

It would appear that Mr. Dillon and his friends are now angling to secure the help of the English Labour Party at the next General Election. So far as the latter Party is concerned, this is necessarily a matter for it to determine, but we make no apology for adventuring the opinion that the English Labour Party would do ill were it to enter into alliance with a political body (or otherwise seek to encourage it) which has plainly lost the confidence of the vast majority of Irishmen. In all such matters, it is obvious that recourse must be had to the popular will and sentiment, otherwise violence will be done to the fundamental principle of democracy, which is, that the wishes of the majority must prevail. Besides this consideration there is another which should be accorded all due weight in canvassing the matter with which we are dealing. An alliance between the English Labour Party and the Irish Parliamentarians would tend further to estrange Ireland from England, and that is a prospect to which no one who holds International principles can look forward with equanimity. For our parts, we heartily desire to see Ireland and England reconciled, not on the basis of the surrender of any of the Irish claims to complete independence, but on that of the candid recognition by England of those claims in their entirety. The Irish Parliamentarians do not answer to the definition of "Nationalists," whatever they may be pleased to style themselves; and for the reason that true National sentiments are in the ascendant in Ireland we think that the English Labour Party would do ill were it to have anything to do with Mr. Dillon and his friends. With regard to our own attitude to England, this may be best collected from the following formula:—"The Irish people would do well not to emigrate, since staying at home serves two useful purposes—it strengthens Ireland and annoys the English." Now, when we say that the course our axiom commends strengthens Ireland and annoys the English, we do not mean that *all* the English would regard a populous Ireland with hatred and alarm. Probably there are as many good men and true among the English as there are among any nation on earth; and the friendship of this respectable element in that population we desire to cultivate as much as we do that of any other corresponding entity. But what we do mean is, that we have a deadly feud with those of that nation who are opposed to our national rights in their entirety, and who, being in a

The Scottish Review

majority, are enabled to use the existing system in order to deny us those rights. Consequently, our quarrel is two-fold—first, with the majority of the English nation; and, secondly, with the system of rule by which they impose their will on Ireland and Scotland, and indeed on all other peoples rendered subject to that system. Beyond these two points, however, neither faction nor resentment will ever have it in its power to carry us. In fine, we are Internationalists as well as Nationalists, and we determine our conduct and shape our sentiments in the light of the effulgence created by the union of the two principles.

Race-Consciousness.

Our English contemporary the *Month* raises in its September impression an interesting question or two, with which we purpose here to deal, but at no great length. In the first place it wants to know what constitutes "a separate nationality," and in the second, who or what is to set bounds to the operation of the principle of Self-determination? We should define nationality as Race-consciousness, a term, it seems to us, which is sufficiently expressive of all those elements that unite to constitute "separate nationality," but none of which is of itself sufficient in force to entitle us to predicate of any one of them in any one case that it is the stuff of which the true nation is made. Touching the second point raised by our contemporary, we all know that the old jurists considered that only a few families were necessary to constitute a true Republic, and the classic objections to large and populous States are familiar to all. With regard to the limits within which the principle of National Self-determination should be granted operation, it is obvious that no hard and fast rule can be laid down—the determination of that matter must be left to the incidence of the principle of Race-consciousness. Speaking generally, however, it is desirable that Self-determination should be practised wherever possible, inasmuch as the well-being of society plainly consists in the diffusion, rather than in the concentration, of political power, the abuse of which latter principle lies at the root of the present war.

The Celtic Congress at Neath.

A very gratifying measure of success attended the recent Neath Congress. Delegates were present from all the Celtic countries,

Chronicles of the Quarters

and at the conclusion of the gathering it was resolved to constitute an International Celtic League, which should go by the name of the Celtic Congress. Mr. E. T. John, M.P., was unanimously elected President of the new body, and thereafter influential committees for each of the Celtic countries were formed. It was resolved that next year's Congress should be held in Scotland, it being remitted to the Scots Committee to determine the precise *locale* of the International gathering of 1919. The Congress has begun well, and we hope that it will live to do immeasurably better things. A healthy sign, so far as the Congress is concerned, consists in its declared determination to advance the interests of the Celtic languages in each of the Celtic countries, and to make that matter its principal concern. The Gaelic-speaking Celts of Scotland have a solemn duty to discharge in this respect, which is, to diffuse the use of Gaelic among themselves, and to create an atmosphere favourable to its acquisition on the part of the non-Gaelic-speaking Celts of this country. To promote both these ends much might be done twixt now and next year's Congress, whose stage, as we have already intimated, will be erected in Scotland.

Gaelic and the Scottish Press.

The present position of the Celtic languages in the periodical press of each of the Celtic countries was one of the subjects discussed at Neath. In the Welsh press the use of the vernacular is fairly general, though there is plenty of room for the employment of more Welsh. In Ireland, the use of Irish in the periodical press continues to grow, though far less Irish is there written than there is written of Welsh in the corresponding quarter. In Scotland, there are in all only about fifteen periodical publications in which the ancient national language figures with more or less regularity. The present position with regard to Brittany would appear to be very little, if anything, better than it is in regard to this country, though it is doubtless true that in the case of Brittany the mortality among Celtic periodicals (and writers) caused by the war has been particularly heavy. Thus, the immediate press prospects are fairly satisfactory in Wales; are improving (if but slowly) in Ireland; are presently low in Brittany; and are depressed out of all proportion to the numerical strength of the Gaelic-speaking population in Scotland. The main difficulty, so far as our own country is

The Scottish Review

concerned, consists in the paucity of Gaelic-readers as opposed to Gaelic-speakers. One of the Scottish representatives at Neath affirmed that "more than 90 per cent. of the Gaelic-speaking people are unable to read the language they best understand." If this appalling estimate is correct (and we have every reason to respect the source from which it hails) the effrontery of those who oppose compulsory Gaelic in the common schools of the Gaelic-speaking areas is little less colossal than are the crimes of that "educational" system which is responsible for the propagation of ignorance among the Gaelic-speaking people. Compulsory Gaelic for the Gaelic-speaking areas is now a feature of the new Education Bill, and whether that measure passes the English Parliament or not, assuredly the compulsive principle has come to stay. Thus, the creation of a numerous Gaelic-reading public is only a matter of time, just as, presumably, is so too the spread of the language in the periodical press. But, admitting that the total Gaelic-reading public is at present immensely disproportionate to the sum total of the Gaelic-speaking population, we think that the position of Gaelic in the contemporary periodical press might easily be improved. In Glasgow there are many thousands of Gaelic speakers, and dozens of Celtic Societies that profess to have the interests of the language at heart. What are these Gaelic-speakers and these Societies doing, the first to remedy the defects of their education by private application and study, and the second to force the language into the local press? Before the Bolsheviks (whose collective shadow may it never grow less!) succeeded in knocking the Capitalist and Imperial Humpty-Dumpty off the wall in Muscovy, there was a stampede of Scots folk to learn Russian. What prodigious folly! But the Anglicised Scot was ever a grand man for any lingo save his native own. He will allow his bowels audibly to enthuse about "Esperanto." He will flirt with French or trifle with Spanish *con mucho gusto*; and who knows but that when the war ends he will return, like the dog to his vomit, to his German? It is full time that the Scots public in general were read a sharp lesson touching their past and present scandalous neglect of their country's ancient national tongue, and their imperative duty to the same. The first is perhaps more a sign on their part of extrinsic and superimposed barbarity and ignorance than it is a proof in them of a constitutional inability to recognise a fine language when they see one. About the second, we need say no more than that we hope that they will clap

Chronicles of the Quarters

their eyes on Scotland (which should be their first concern) and manfully discharge it. By so doing may they hope to make some very belated amends for past unmerited and, not to put too fine a point on it, impudent neglect of the Gaelic language.

The Trials of Mr. Arthur Henderson.

Probably, Mr. Arthur Henderson's position as guide, counsellor, and friend to the English Labour Party is as little easy and enviable as was that of the "Merry Monarch" when that caustic despiser of bores and hypocrites was in the grip of the sair saints of the "Kirk of God" in Scotland. Much of Mr. Henderson's experimental and tentative politics is doubtless due to the fact that the "crowd" of which he is a principal leader is largely composed of reactionary, ignorant, and very unintelligent elements. He is obliged to preserve a balancing mind, and to resort to the most transparent refinements, not because, we believe, such devious ways are natural to him, but because it is by such means only that he thinks he can hope to raise the English Labour Party as a whole out of that slough of mingled prejudice, hypocrisy, and ignorance into which it has been cast, as well by the pressure of external events as by the weight of its own inherent defects and shortcomings. As an illustration of the sort of vexatious disability under which Mr. Henderson labours with evident difficulty, though with considerable address, we may instance the recent Derby Trade Union resolution touching the case of Ireland. The Congress declared itself in favour of "a generous measure of Home Rule and the right of Self-determination consistent with democratic principles and unity" for that country. Our opinion is that it would be difficult to pack into any "resolution" more confused thinking and more absolute nonsense than the English Trade Unionists in Congress assembled succeeded in compressing into the one to which we here draw our reader's attention. In the first place, "Home Rule" and "Self-determination" are not synonymous terms, the first implying "imperial" control, and the second being opposed to it. Again, "democratic principles" are principles which derive their sanction from the will of the people, and must (if they are to be regarded as truly such) rest upon the free and unfettered exercise of the popular will. Thirdly, to condition "unity" as being essential to the acquisition of rights claimed under "democratic principles" and "self-deter-

The Scottish Review

mination" is sheer impertinence. Obviously, if "unity" is inconsistent in any given case with the free and unfettered exercise of democratic principles and self-determination, then "unity" must go by the board. We are not charging this singularly fatuous "resolution" upon Mr. Henderson; Messrs. Clynes or Barnes might well have cast it, but it carries no traces of Mr. Henderson's customary astuteness. Nevertheless, we cite it for two reasons, the first of which is that it constitutes an effective illustration of the kind of thing that Mr. Henderson has to fight against in seeking to perfect his plans as regards the International; the second being, that it affords a lively specimen of that hypocrisy, confused thinking, ignorance, and prejudice, on account of which the English workers, as a whole, are notorious, and which will yet damn them irrevocably, unless they mend their manners and respect the principles they are fond to profess.

Mr. Lloyd George.

It would be as absurd to deny all merit to Mr. Lloyd George as it would be to rank him among the elect of this world's intellects. His recent Manchester speech indicates at once the utmost measure of his mental stature and the full extent of his intellectual limitations. His greatest triumphs, it seems to us, are ever impersonal and contingent ones, depending as they do, not on his own absolute merit, but on his power to persuade others of the existence of that merit, and to take it (or to appear to do so) at his own valuation. We admit that as a bubbler of the English public, Mr. Lloyd George has no contemporary equals, but the force of this tribute (such as it is) is largely spent when we reflect that the bubbled have about as much real faith in the bubbler as the latter has in the former, which, when all is said and done, amounts to mighty little.

The Blonde Peril.

There is nothing like turning to pre-war literature in order to correct current impressions, especially those unscholarly and partial effusions emanating from the Bureau of Information (or is it "Defamation"?), in London. We find the following in Arnold's *Lectures on Modern History*, and resurrect it, as it will serve for a text for some few remarks that we design to make. "It (the Ger-

Chronicles of the Quarters

man influence) affects, more or less, the whole west of Europe, from the head of the gulf of Bothnia to the most southern promontory of Sicily, from the Oder and the Adriatic to the Hebrides and Lisbon. It is true that the language spoken over a large portion of this space is not predominantly German ; but even in France and Italy and Spain, the influence of the Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Lombards, while it has coloured even the language, has in blood and institutions left its mark legibly and indelibly. Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland for the most part, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and our own islands, are all in language, in blood, and in institutions, German most decidedly." Doubtless, the faults to be charged upon this particular *obitir dicta* of Arnold are those which we are justified in laying at the door of the ethnological scholarship of his time. "Most decidedly" those portions of "our own islands" called Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are not German in blood ; nor are they by any means exclusively Teutonic as to language, however Germanic the rule to which they are subject may be. The fact that England is a country preponderatingly Teutonic in blood, and "most decidedly so" in respect of language and institutions, does not excuse Arnold for having failed to make those necessary distinctions, which the nature of the case he was considering required him to make, and which he was in a position to draw (assuming him to have had eyes wherewith to see and ears wherewith to hear) irrespectively altogether of the state of contemporary ethnological scholarship. Nevertheless, the main assertion of Arnold that the Teutonic influence is predominant in Europe remains true enough, and no matter what event the present war may have, we see no immediate prospect of any change in respect of that arrangement. With "half of Europe, and all America and Australia, more or less completely, in race, in language, or in institutions, or in all Germanic", we fail to see the use of those policies whose capital end consists in the forcible suppression of the Germanic influence in Europe.

To Latins, Celts, and Slavs the subject of the Blonde Peril must needs appear (by reason of its proximity) infinitely more grave and menacing than those of different complexions with which the popular press is fond to threaten from time to time ; and this being so we shall take an early opportunity of presenting a detail of the Latin, Slav, and Celtic grievances against the Teutonic Powers, and of propounding a policy with a view to defeating their aggressions.

The Scottish Review

Mr. Barnes and the English Government.

We see no particular reason why we should lend our voice to swell, and sustain, the chorus of platitude that was raised when Mr. Barnes underwent the disagreeable experience of being "howled down" at his recent Glasgow meetings. Mr. Barnes belongs to a Government whose suppressions of free speech have been flagrant and many, and whose invasions of popular rights and liberties remind us of the doings of some of the grossest usurpations of the most vicious tyrannies of old. We refuse to believe that it is not for the public good that the aiders and abettors of absolute power should be resolutely "turned down" as often as they may impudently think to rise up; and we should think little of the intelligence and spirit of that democracy which should refrain, on account of a purely academic scruple, from visiting its just indignation upon any one guilty of insulting its principles and betraying its interests. Moreover, experience proves that it is worse than useless to use tender measures with men who obstinately persist in a course of conduct which is plainly irreconcilable with those fundamental principles by which they profess to be animated and controlled. Those who vainly think that Mr. Barnes can yet be reclaimed to the cause of democracy should read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest his silly "stunts" in English Tory newspapers touching "British" Bolshevism, and the kindred topics. The effusions in question might have been composed by Mr. Havelock Wilson, Chief Mop-bearer to the Lady Partingtons of the *Morning Post*, so absurdly and candidly reactionary in tone are they.

The glut of "Cauld Kail" at Aberdeen.

To style a man "merely a ranting fool," as *The Highland News* does Mr. Hughes (the self-assertive and thick-skinned Australian premier), is certainly one way of compassing a dilemma which, at a first glance, would seem to require no little tact and verbal dexterity on the part of those who should find themselves obliged to essay a public characterisation of that somewhat fatiguing personage. We have no desire to quarrel with our northern contemporary, of whose timeous relief in respect of a highly perplexing matter, we are indeed duly sensible; but in justice to Mr. Hughes we beg leave to point out that, fool though he may be, yet are those who encourage him in his folly greater in that respect than he. For instance, the

Chronicles of the Quarters

civic authorities of Aberdeen recently conferred on Mr. Hughes the freedom of their city. Wherefore? What has Mr. Hughes done that he should be singled out by the bumbles of Aberdeen for special mention and honour? Beyond having refused to resign office after his darling policy had sustained two successive defeats at the hands of the popular suffrage, we fail to see that he has accomplished anything remarkable, and even his singularity in respect of the matter to which we call attention is susceptible of not a few precedents drawn from the annals of shady political adventure. Aberdeen should be careful; not so very long ago its Lord Provost made himself the laughing-stock of all Scotland by appearing at a Bottomley meeting, arrayed in all the gewgaws of his office. The recent democratic protest against the bestowal of titles and "honours" should be extended so as to embrace the abuse of civic "freedoms" by the bumble tools and creatures of Capitalism.

The Laureate of the Scottish Farm Servants.

Mr. Andrew Dodds is the laureate of the Scottish Farm Servants—one of the sweet singers of the new order. His little book of songs and poems entitled, "The Lothian Land," which has just been published by the Scottish Farm Servants' Union (35a Union Street, Aberdeen) is a noteworthy contribution to modern Scottish poetry, and assures the author a high place among the latter-day Scottish bards who use English—alongside Charles Murray of "Hamewith" fame; the Rev. George Abel; and James C. Welsh, the Lanarkshire miner poet. The little book costs but 1/- nett (paper covers) and 2/- nett (cloth), but there is more real poetry in it than in many a more pretentious volume. Here, for example, is a little "snatch" from "The Song of the Exiled Ploughman":—

Green are the fields in the morning,
The fields I am fain to see—
The fields round the cot wi' its kailyard plot,
That yince was the hame o' me—
Green in the May Sabbath morning,
And waving bonnilie.

Wae are my thochts in the morning,
O where I am fain to be—

The Scottish Review

The road that gangs doon to the auld ferm-toon
Will never see mair o' me—
Wae in the May Sabbath morning
Ay, wae and ill to dree.

In quite a different vein is the ploughman's song, "My Bonnie Dapple Greys." It is written after the manner of the old bothy ballads—one can almost hear a jolly-faced ploughman singing it as he "rubs down" his horses after a hard day's work:—

The flittin' time is drawin' near,
An' gled I'll be tae gang;
I've suffert mair o' hunger here
Than a' my life alang.
There's jist ae thing that vexes me—
But life has aye its waes—
An' that is that I'm leavin' ye,
My bonnie dapple greys.

That is the opening verse, and the rest are in the same cheerful strain. But Mr. Dodds does not confine himself to songs of farm life. He sings, too, the beauties of his own Lothian land:—

There is nae land like the Lothian land
Under the wide wide sky;
And I'm fain to be where the lone pee-wee
Utters his plaintive cry,
Where the hills look doon on the auld ferm-toon,
And the moorland road gangs by
In the Lothian land.

"The Lothian Land" from which the book takes its name, is one of several fine poems which have been suggested and inspired by the world-war. One of these little gems we are tempted to quote in full. It is a fine example of Mr. Dodds's art:—

Donal' Duff had rovin' bluid,
An' rovin' he wad be,
An' whiles he roved upon the land
An' whiles upon the sea.

Chronicles of the Quarters

His mither had a waefu' hairt—
She seldom spak his name ;
Bit highroad or byroad,
He aye cam' hame.

The cry o' war gaed through the land,
An' Donal' lauched wi' glee ;
He jined a kilty regiment,
An' sailed across the sea.
An' sic a deed as Donal did—
The country rang wi' fame ;
Bit highroad or byroad,
He'll ne'er come hame.

These are but samples from Mr. Dodds's wallet, but they serve to show that the author has the root of the matter in him : may they induce the discriminating reader to seek for more within the covers of the book itself.



Correspondence

CELT AND TEUTON IN ENGLAND.

DEVONSHIRE CLUB,
ST. JAMES'S STREET,
LONDON, S.W.,
31st August, 1918.

SIR,

Mr. Mac Neacail, in his interesting and instructive article, states that there is no evidence for the survival of Celtic blood in the English county of Hertford. The story of St. Alban may, however, give the evidence for it, if we accept Verulam, the modern St. Albans, as the scene of the martyrdom. St. Alban is often falsely described as the first English martyr, and the mistake has in modern times been emphasised by the fact of the dedication to his memory of the Anglican Church in Holborn. In fact, St. Alban was a Roman soldier and a Celtic Saint. His companions, Aaron and Julius, are associated with Caerleon on Usk in Gwent (Monmouthshire). Bede places the martyrdom at Verulam (St. Albans). The date of the martyrdom is doubtful. A tradition followed by Gildas places it in the Diocletian persecution. The late Professor Hugh Williams considers that it is more probable that it occurred in some earlier persecution, perhaps in the reign of Decius or Valerian. (*Christianity in Early Britain*, ch. v.). Whatever the date may have been, we know that the tomb was held in high honour by the Britons, and was visited by Germanus and Lupus, the Gallican bishops, who came to Britain shortly after the departure of the Roman Legion to denounce the Pelagian heresy. If we assume St. Albans in Hertfordshire to have been the place visited by Germanus, we see that the place must have been a strong religious centre of British or Celtic life, perhaps the Westminster Abbey of the time. It is by no means impossible that Verulan, lying as it does, at no great distance from Watling Street, may have continued a Celtic stronghold under the Saxon rule. In Bede's time it was regarded as a centre of healing miracles, and the pagan Saxons, who were

Correspondence

exceedingly superstitious, may have feared to destroy it. Subsequently of course it passed into the realm of Offa, who founded there St. Alban's Abbey. It should be observed here that the latest historian of Wales connects St. Albans with Hertfordshire, since he describes among the British martyrs, honoured in later ages, Albanus of Verulanium (Professor J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 103). If this view is correct, the presence of a Celtic population in Hertfordshire is explained. The inhabitants of Verulam refused to leave their sacred shrine. If we can be certain, therefore, that St. Albans was the scene of St. Alban's martyrdom, we have demonstrated the continued presence of a Celtic population in Hertfordshire.

What is to be said on the other side? The account of St. Alban's martyrdom in Gildas suggests that it took place somewhere near the Thames. Even if we assume that the whole of Gildas' work was comprised in the sixth century, and that the historical portion, known as the "Excidium" was not the work of a pseudo Gildas of the eighth century, it is clear that Gildas knew little of the geography of the eastern part of the island, and may easily have made a mistake as to the name of a river. Last year, in a letter to the "Church Times," that original historian, the Rev. A. Wade Evans, suggested that Caerleon or Usk was the true scene of St. Alban's martyrdom. The theory was supported by ingenious arguments, but I doubt if they are sufficient to shake Bede's statement. Further, Gildas (or the pseudo Gildas) gives no countenance to the idea that the martyrdom took place in Wales. I think, therefore, that we may still accept as correct the traditional place of the martyrdom, and if so, we can see why the Celts struck deep roots in Hertfordshire.

In concluding this subject, let me protest against the modern custom of describing St. Alban as the first English martyr. He belonged to Celtic Christendom.

To touch on two other points briefly. Mr. Mac Neacail states that there was a Gaelic immigration into the west of England. He should have added that there was also one into Wales. The Gaels were banished from the North Wales coast by the sons of Cunedda, but they successfully established themselves in Dyfed (Pembrokeshire), and Gaelic princes ruled this land until the Danish invasion. With its subsequent colonisation by Danes and Flemings, Pembrokeshire presents as curious a mixture of races as any district in

The Scottish Review

Britain, and deserves more attention from the ethnologist than it has ever received.

One last point. Your contributor seems to accept with modifications the correctness of the traditional account of the conquest of Britain by the Saxons. But he does not explain Vortigern. We know that Vortigern was a petty knight on the Wye, and we are puzzled as to what connection he could have had with Kent. Mr. Wade Evans has an interesting essay on the subject in the *Cymmador* for 1917 (Vol. xxvii.) which I am sure will interest Mr. Mac Netail.

Your obedient Servant,

J. ARTHUR PRICE.



t
i-
st
e
e
r.
i-
r.



AN RÒSARNACH.

An Illustrated Miscellany.

Vol. II. is now in the Press.

SOME PRESS CRITICISMS OF VOL. I.

"A striking feature of the book is the evidence it gives of the adaptability of the language to the purposes of modern literature.

An Ròsarnach, which is profusely illustrated, is full of interesting matter, and is calculated to be of great value to students."—GLASGOW HERALD.

"It is sumptuously bound, exceedingly well printed, and altogether looks all that such a book should be. It will adorn any library."—HIGHLAND NEWS.

"We value the handsome well printed volume, with its wide margins, none the less because of its disregard of conventionalities. . . . We heartily welcome this goodly contribution to modern Gaelic literature. It deserves a place of honour in any Celtic library."—DUNDEE ADVERTISER.

"*An Ròsarnach*, which means "The Rose-garden," is an interesting collection of Gaelic prose and poetry by present-day writers, on a variety of subjects. Most of the contributions have at least one of the marks of good Gaelic prose, namely clearness."—SCOTSMAN.

"Printer and binder have vied with each other. . . . *An Ròsarnach* deserves a place in every Gaelic library, and we wish it every success. The contributors are to be congratulated on their efforts."—AN DEO-GRÈINE.

Price Ten Shillings and Sevenpence (post free).

ALASDAIR MACLAREN & SONS,

Gaelic Booksellers,

360 ARGYLE STREET, GLASGOW.